John Carter Brown.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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A PHI-

MAP
of the
European Settlements
in the
EAST INDIES.
By Thos Kitchin Senr
Hydrogr to his Majesty.
British Miles 69 to a Degree.
30 69 138 207 276
Leagues 20 to a Degree.
10 20 40 60 80
PERSIA
INDIAN OCEAN
TIBET OR BOUD-TAN
SELEN-DIVA or CEYLON
MALDIVAS
LACCADIVAS
Tropic of Cancer
Longitude E. from Ferro
Published by T. Cadell according to Act of Parliament May 1st 1789.

A

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HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

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BOOK III.

Settlements, Trade, and Conqueſts of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies.

BOOK III.

Sketch of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh commerce.

WE are totally unacquainted either with the period in which the Britiſh iſles were peopled, or with the origin of their firſt inhabitants. All we can learn from the moſt authentic hiſtorical records, is, that they were ſucceſſively viſited by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Gauls. The traders of theſe nations uſed to go there to exchange earthen veſſels, ſalt, all kinds of iron and copper inſtruments, for ſkins, ſlaves, hounds, and bull-dogs, and eſpecially for tin. The commodities exchanged were valued in proportion to their utility. Such mercantile articles were brought to theſe people, as they undoubtedly ſet a higher value upon, than thoſe which they offered in exchange. Neither of theſe parties are to

BOOK III.

be accuſed either of ignorance or diſhoneſty. To whatever country of the univerſe we may repair, men will always be found as cunning as ourſelves; and they will ever give thoſe things they eſteem the leaſt, in return for thoſe which are in greater repute among them.

A MERE looſe ſpeculation would lead us to imagine, that iſlanders have been the firſt civilized people among mankind. Nothing puts a ſtop to the excurſions of people living on a continent: they may rove about in queſt of ſubſiſtence, and yet withdraw themſelves from the ſcene of war. In iſlands, it ſhould ſeem, that the eſtabliſhment of laws and mutual compacts, muſt of courſe become ſooner neceſſary, from the unavoidable conflicts of war, and the inconveniences of a too limited ſociety. We obſerve, on the contrary, that the manners and the government of iſlanders, are formed later and more imperfectly. It is among theſe people that we trace the origin of that multitude of ſingular inſtitutions that retard the progreſs of population. Anthropophagy, the caſtration of males, the infibulation of females, late marriages, the conſecration of virginity, the approbation of celibacy, the puniſhments exerciſed againſt girls who became mothers at too early an age; perhaps alſo faſtings, ſelf-denials, and all thoſe extravagancies that would ariſe in convents, if there were a monaſtery of men and women intermixed, in which the number of the former was by far the greateſt, and without any poſſibility of emigration.

WHEN

BOOK III.

When theſe Iſlanders have found out the means of eſcaping from the narrow circuit in which natural cauſes had confined them during a ſeries of ages, they carry their cuſtoms along with them to the continents, where they have been perpetuated from one century to another, and where philoſophers of our days are ſtill embarraſſed to inveſtigate the reaſon of them. The ſuperabundance of population in iſlands, was the cauſe of the tardy progreſs of civilization among their inhabitants; ſince it became neceſſary to put a continual ſtop to that ſuperabundance by violent meaſures. An extreme ſtate of barbariſm prevails upon that ſpot, where the members of the ſame family are compelled to extirpate each other. It is the intercourſe of people among themſelves, which diminiſhes their ferocity, as it is their ſeparation from each other which contributes to prolong it. The Iſlanders of our days have not entirely loſt their primitive character; and perhaps an attentive obſerver might find ſome traces of it even in Great-Britain.

The dominion of the Romans was not ſufficiently durable, nor ſufficiently uninterrupted to improve, in any conſiderable degree, the induſtry of the Britons. Even the ſmall progreſs that huſbandry and the arts had made during this period, was loſt as ſoon as that haughty power had determined to abandon this conqueſt. The ſpirit of ſlavery which the ſouthern inhabitants of Britain had contracted, deprived them of the courage neceſſary, to reſiſt, at firſt, the overflowings of their neighbours the Picts, who had ſaved them-

BOOK III.

ſelves from the yoke by flying towards the north of the iſland, and prevented them afterwards from being able to oppoſe the more deſtructive, more obſtinate, and more numerous expeditions of plunderers, that poured in ſwarms from the northern parts of Europe.

All nations were affected with this dreadful ſcourge, the moſt deſtructive, perhaps, that ever was recorded in the annals of the world; but the calamities which Great Britain particularly experienced are inexpreſſible. Every year, ſeveral times even in a year, her countries were ravaged, her houſes burnt, her women raviſhed, her temples ſtripped, her inhabitants maſſacred, put to torture, or enſlaved. All theſe misfortunes ſucceeded each other with inconceivable rapidity. When the country was ſo far deſtroyed that nothing remained to glut the avidity of theſe barbarians, they ſeized on the land itſelf. One nation ſucceeded another. One band ſupervening, expelled or exterminated the one that was already eſtabliſhed; and this ſucceſſion of revolutions conſtantly kept up indolence, miſtruſt and miſery. In theſe diſpiriting times, the Britons had ſcarce any commercial connection with the continent. Exchanges were even ſo rare among them, that it was neceſſary to have witneſſes for the ſale of the leaſt trifle.

It might have been expected that the union of the two kingdoms would have put a ſtop to theſe calamities, when William the Conqueror ſubdued Great Britain a little while after the middle of the eleventh century. His followers came from countries

ries rather more civilized, more active, and more induſtrious, than thoſe they came to ſettle in. Such a communication ought naturally to have rectified and enlarged the ideas of the conquered people. Unfortunately, the introduction of the feudal government occaſioned ſo ſpeedy and ſo complete a revolution in matters of property, that every thing was throw'n into confuſion.

The minds of men were ſcarcely ſettled, and the conquerors and the conquered had but juſt begun to conſider themſelves as one and the ſame people, when the abilities and ſtrength of the nation were engaged in ſupporting the pretenſions of their ſovereigns to the crown of France. In theſe obſtinate wars, the Engliſh diſplayed military talents and courage; but, after ſeveral great efforts, and conſiderable ſucceſs, they were forced back into their iſland, where domeſtic troubles expoſed them to freſh calamities.

During theſe different periods, the whole commerce was in the hands of the Jews and the bankers of Lombardy, who were alternately favoured and robbed, conſidered as uſeful perſons, and condemned to death, expelled and recalled. Theſe tumults were increaſed by the audacity of the pirates, who being ſometimes protected by the government with which they ſhared their ſpoils, attacked all ſhips indiſcriminately, and frequently ſank their crews. The intereſt of money was at fifty per cent. Leather, furs, butter, lead, and tin, were the only things exported from England at a very moderate rate, and thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, which returned annually a

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more conſiderable ſum. As the Engliſh were then totally unacquainted with the art of dying this wool, and manufacturing it with elegance, the greateſt part of this money returned. To remedy this inconvenience, foreign manufacturers were invited, and the people were prohibited from wearing any clothes that were not of home manufacture. At the ſame time, the exportation of manufactured wool and wrought iron was forbidden; two laws altogether worthy of the age in which they were inſtituted.

Henry VII. permitted the barons to diſpoſe of their lands, and the common people to buy them. This regulation diminiſhed the inequality which ſubſiſted before between the fortunes of the lords and their vaſſals; it made the latter more independent, and inſpired the people with the deſire of enriching themſelves, and with the hope of enjoying their riches. There were many obſtacles to this wiſh, and this hope; ſome of which were removed. The company of merchants eſtabliſhed at London was prevented from exacting in future the ſum of one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five livres * from each of the other merchants in the kingdom, deſirous of trading at the great fairs of the Low Countries. In order to fix a greater number of people to the labours of huſbandry, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould put his ſon or daughter out to any kind of apprenticeſhip, without being poſſeſſed of a revenue of twenty-two livres ten ſols † in landed

* 65 l. 10 s. 6 d. † 18 s. 4 d.

property;

property: this abſurd law was afterwards mitigated.

UNFORTUNATELY, that law which regulated the price of all ſorts of proviſions, of woollens, of workmen's wages, of ſtuffs, and of clothing, was maintained in full force. Other impediments even were throw'n in the way of commerce, on account of ſome pernicious combinations that were ſet on foot. It was a circumſtance then unknow'n, that money, which is the repreſentative of every thing, is, in it's turn, repreſented by all vendible articles; that it is a commodity, which, like all others, muſt be left to itſelf; that the value of it muſt neceſſarily riſe or diminiſh every inſtant, from an infinite number of different incidents; that every regulation of policy upon this matter cannot but be abſurd and detrimental; that one of the means of multiplying uſurers, is to forbid uſury, becauſe this prohibition becomes an excluſive privilege for any one who ſets the ſenſe of ſhame at defiance; that every law is ridiculous, whenever there are poſitive means of eluding it; that the general competition which would ariſe from an unlimited liberty of trading with money, would neceſſarily reduce it to a lower intereſt; that ruinous loans, which it is the intention to prevent, would be leſs frequent, ſince the borrower would have nothing to pay but the value of the money borrowed; whereas, in the preſent ſtate of things, we muſt add to this value the price which the uſurer ſets upon his conſcience, upon his honour, and upon the riſk he runs from committing an illegal act; a price

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which riſes in proportion to the ſcarcity of uſurers, and to the rigour with which the prohibitive law is obſerved.

From the ſame want of diſcernment, the exportation of money in any kind of coin was forbidden; and, in order to prevent foreign merchants from carrying it clandeſtinely away, they were compelled to change into Engliſh merchandize the entire produce of the goods they had brought into England. The exportation of horſes was likewiſe prohibited; and the people were not ſufficiently enlightened to diſcover, that ſuch a prohibition would neceſſarily cauſe the propagation and improvement of the ſpecies to be neglected. At length, corporations were eſtabliſhed in all the towns; that is to ſay, the ſtate authoriſed all perſons of the ſame profeſſion, to make ſuch regulations as they ſhould think neceſſary for their excluſive preſervation and ſucceſs. The nation is ſtill oppreſſed with a regulation ſo contrary to general induſtry, and which reduces every thing to a kind of monopoly.

Upon conſidering ſuch a number of ſtrange laws, we might be induced to think that Henry was either indifferent about the proſperity of his kingdom, or that he was totally deficient in underſtanding. Nevertheleſs, it is certain that this prince, notwithſtanding his extreme avarice, often lent conſiderable ſums of money, without intereſt, to merchants who had not property ſufficient to carry on the ſchemes they had planned: beſides, the wiſdom of his government is ſo well confirm-

ed,

ed, that he is accounted, with reaſon, one of the greateſt monarchs that ever ſat upon the throne of England. But, notwithſtanding all the efforts of genius, it requires a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages before any ſcience can be reduced to ſimple principles. It is the ſame thing with theories as with machines, which are always very complicated at firſt, and which are only freed in the courſe of time, by obſervation and experience, from thoſe uſeleſs wheels which ſerved merely to increaſe their friction.

The knowlege of the ſucceeding reigns was not much more extenſive upon thoſe matters we are treating of. Some Flemings, ſettled in England, were the only good workmen in that country; they were almoſt always inſulted and oppreſſed by the Engliſh workmen, who were jealous of them without emulation. The latter complained that all the cuſtomers went to the Flemings, and that theſe occaſioned a riſe in the price of corn. The government adopted theſe popular prejudices, and forbad all ſtrangers to employ more than two workmen in their ſhops. The merchants were not better treated than the workmen, and thoſe even who were naturalized, were obliged to pay the ſame duties as aliens. Ignorance was ſo general, that the cultivation of the beſt lands was neglected, in order to convert them into paſtures, even at the time that the number of ſheep, which might be in one flock, was reſtrained by the laws to two thouſand. All mercantile correſpondences were centred in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of theſe provinces

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vinces bought the Engliſh commodities, and circulated them through the different parts of Europe. It is probable that the nation would not have, for a long time, emerged from this ſituation, had it not been for a concurrence of favourable circumſtances.

The Duke of Alva's cruelties drove ſeveral able manufacturers into England, who carried the art of the fine Flemiſh manufactures to London. The perſecutions which the Proteſtants ſuffered in France, ſupplied England with workmen of all kinds. Elizabeth, impatient of contradiction, but knowing and deſirous of doing what was right, at once deſpotic and popular, with the advantages of a good underſtanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed herſelf of the fermentation of men's minds, as prevalent throughout all her dominions as through the reſt of Europe; and while this fermentation produced, among other nations, nothing but theological diſputes, and civil or foreign wars, in England it gave riſe to a lively ſpirit of emulation for commerce, and for the improvement of navigation.

The Engliſh learned to build their ſhips at home, which they bought before of the merchants of Lubec and Hamburgh. They were ſoon the only perſons who traded to Muſcovy by the way of Archangel, newly diſcovered; and they preſently became competitors with the Hanſe towns in Germany, and in the north. They began to trade with Turkey. Several of their navigators attempted, though in vain, to diſcover a paſſage to India by the northern ſeas. At length Drake, Stephens,

Stephens, Cavendiſh, and ſome others, reached that place, ſome by the South Sea, and others by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

First voyages of the Engliſh to India.

THE ſucceſs of theſe voyages was ſufficient to determine the moſt able merchants of London to eſtabliſh a company in the year 1600; which obtained an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies. The act which granted this privilege fixed it for fifteen years: it declared, that if it ſhould prove injurious to the ſtate, it ſhould be annulled, and the company ſuppreſſed, by giving two years previous notice to it's members.

THIS clauſe of reſerve aroſe from the diſpleaſure the commons had lately ſhew'n on account of a grant, the novelty of which might poſſibly offend them. The queen had returned to the houſe, and had ſpoken on this occaſion in a manner worthy to ſerve as a leſſon to all ſovereigns.

"GENTLEMEN," ſaid ſhe to the members of the houſe commiſſioned to return her thanks, "I "am extremely ſenſible of your attachment, and "of the care you have taken to give me an au- "thentic teſtimony of it. This affection for my "perſon had determined you to apprize me of a "fault I had inadvertantly fallen into from igno- "rance, but in which my will had no ſhare. If "your vigilance had not diſcovered to me the "miſchiefs which my miſtake might have pro- "duced, what pain ſhould I not have felt—I, "who have nothing dearer to me than the affec- "tion and preſervation of my people? May my "hand ſuddenly wither, may my heart be ſtruck "at once with a deadly blow, before I ſhall ever

"grant

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" grant particular privileges that my ſubjects
" may have reaſon to complain of! The ſplen-
" dour of the throne has not ſo far dazzled my
" eyes, that I ſhould prefer the abuſe of an un-
" bounded authority to the uſe of a power exer-
" ciſed by juſtice. The brilliancy of royalty
" blinds only thoſe princes who are ignorant of
" the duties that the crown impoſes. I dare be-
" lieve that I ſhall not be ranked among ſuch
" monarchs. I know that I hold not the ſcepter
" for my own proper advantage, and that I am
" entirely devoted to the ſociety, which has put
" it's confidence in me. It is my happineſs to
" ſee that the ſtate has hitherto proſpered under
" my government; and that my ſubjects are
" worthy that I ſhould yield up my crown and
" my life for their ſakes. Impute not to me the
" improper meaſures I may be engaged in, nor
" the irregularities which may be committed un-
" der the ſanction of my name. You know that
" the miniſters of princes are too often guided
" by private intereſts, that truth ſeldom reaches
" the ears of kings, and that, obliged as they
" are, from the multiplicity of affairs they are
" laden with, to fix their attention on thoſe which
" are of the greateſt importance, it is impoſſible
" they ſhould ſee every thing with their own
" eyes."

FROM the peruſal of this wiſe ſpeech, we ſhould be inclined to believe, that an abſolute monarch, who is juſt, ſteady, and enlightened, would be the beſt of princes: but on the other hand, we ſhould conſider, that if this reign were to be laſt-

ing,

ing, the people would neglect the aſſertion of thoſe rights, of which they would have no occaſion to avail themſelves; and that nothing could be more fatal to them than the continuation of this lethargy, under a reign ſimilar to the firſt, unleſs it be the prolongation of it under a third. Nations ſometimes make attempts to deliver themſelves from an oppreſſion impoſed by violence; but never ſtrive to ſet themſelves free from a ſtate of ſlavery, into which they have been led by mild and gentle proceedings. Sooner or later a tyrant, either weak minded, or cruel, or devoid of underſtanding, will ſucceed to the management of an abſolute power, which has never been oppoſed. The people who are the victims of this deſpotiſm, think they are deſtined to be ſo. They have loſt the ſenſe of liberty, which can only be maintained by perpetual exertion. Perhaps, had the Engliſh been governed by three ſucceſſive ſovereigns ſimilar to Elizabeth, they would have been the moſt abject of all ſlaves.

THE funds of this company were, at firſt, far from being conſiderable. Part of them was expended in fitting out a fleet of four ſhips, which ſailed in the beginning of the year 1601; and the reſt was ſent abroad in money and merchandiſe.

LANCASTER, who commanded the expedition, arrived the year following at the port of Achem, which was at that time a very celebrated mart. Intelligence had been received there of the victories gained by the Engliſh over the Spaniards at ſea; and this intelligence procured him a moſt diſtinguiſhed reception. The king behaved to him

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him in the ſame manner as if he had been his equal; he ordered that his own wives richly habited, ſhould play ſeveral airs in his preſence, on a variety of inſtruments. This favour was followed by all the compliances that could be wiſhed for to facilitate the eſtabliſhment of a ſafe and advantageous commerce. The Engliſh admiral was received at Bantam in the ſame manner as at the place where he firſt landed; and a ſhip, which he had diſpatched to the Molucca iſlands, brought him a conſiderable cargo of cloves and nutmegs. With theſe valuable ſpices, and the pepper he took in at Java and Sumatra, he returned ſafe to Europe.

This early ſucceſs determined the ſociety, who had intruſted their intereſts in the hands of this able man, to form ſettlements in India; but not without the conſent of the natives. They did not wiſh to begin with conqueſts. Their expeditions were nothing more than the enterpriſes of humane and fair traders. They conciliated to themſelves the affection of the people; but this procured them no advantage, except a few factories; and they were in no condition to ſuſtain the rivalſhip of other nations that had made themſelves formidable.

The Portugueſe and the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of large provinces, well fortified places, and good harbours. By theſe advantages their trade was ſecured againſt the natives of the country, and againſt new competitors; their return to Europe was facilitated; and they had opportunities of getting a good ſale for the commo-

dities they carried to Aſia, and of purchaſing thoſe they wanted at a moderate price. The Engliſh, on the contrary, expoſed to the caprice of ſeaſons and of the people, having no ſtrength, or place of ſecurity, and deriving their ſupplies from England only, could not, according to the ideas then prevailing, carry on an advantageous trade. They thought that it was difficult to acquire great riches without great injuſtice, and that, in order to ſurpaſs or even equal the nations they had cenſured, they muſt purſue the ſame conduct. This was an error which led them into falſe meaſures. With maxims more ſalutary, they would have been ſenſible, that if goodneſs, mildneſs, benevolence, and humanity, do not lead to proſperity ſo rapidly as violence; yet the power that is fixed upon ſo reſpectable a baſis, will be more firm and durable. By tyranny, a precarious authority and a diſturbed poſſeſſion, can only be obtained; while that which flows from juſtice, attracts, in the end, every thing to it's own center. The dominion of force is conſidered as a ſcourge, that of virtue as a bleſſing; and I never can be convinced, that it is a matter of indifference, whether we make our appearance before foreign nations, in the character of infernal ſpirits, or in that of celeſtial beings.

The plan of forming laſting ſettlements, and of attempting conqueſts, ſeemed too great to be accompliſhed by the forces of an infant ſociety: but they flattered themſelves that they ſhould meet with protection, becauſe they thought themſelves uſeful. They were diſappointed in their expectations. They could obtain nothing from

James

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James I. a weak prince, infected with the falſe philoſophy of his age, a man of wit, of a ſubtile and pedantic genius, and better qualified to be at the head of an univerſity than to preſide over an empire. By their activity, perſeverance, and judicious choice of officers and factors, the company provided thoſe ſuccours which were refuſed them by their ſovereign. They erected forts, and founded colonies in the iſlands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. In this manner they ſhared the ſpice trade with the Dutch, which will always be the moſt certain branch of eaſtern commerce, becauſe the objects of it are become neceſſary articles of life. It was of more importance at the time we are ſpeaking of, becauſe the luxury which ariſes from caprice had not then made ſo much progreſs in Europe as it has done ſince, and becauſe there was not that prodigious demand for India linens, ſtuffs, teas, and Chineſe varniſh, that there is at preſent.

Diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch.

The Dutch had not driven the Portugueſe from the ſpice-iſlands with a view of ſuffering a nation to ſettle there, whoſe maritime force, character, and form of government, rendered their rivalſhip ſtill more formidable. They had many advantages on their ſide, ſuch as powerful colonies, a well-exerciſed navy, firm alliances, a great fund of wealth, a knowlege of the country, and of the principles and details of commerce; while the Engliſh, who were deficient in all theſe particulars, were attacked in all poſſible ways.

The firſt ſtep their rival took was to drive them from the fertile places, where they had formed ſettlements. In the iſlands where their power

power was leſs eſtabliſhed, they endeavoured, by accuſations, equally void of truth and decency, to make them odious to the natives of the country. Theſe ſhameful expedients not meeting with all the ſucceſs the Dutch expected, thoſe avaricious traders reſolved to proceed to acts of violence. An extraordinary occaſion brought on the commencement of hoſtilities ſooner than it was imagined. BOOK III.

It is a cuſtom at Java for the new-married women to diſpute with their huſbands the firſt favours of love. This kind of conteſt, which the men take a pride in terminating immediately, and the women in protracting as long as poſſible, ſometimes laſts ſeveral weeks. From whence can this capricious refinement of coquetry proceed, ſince it exiſts not in the nature of man, nor in that of the brute? Does the Javaneſe woman intend, by this conduct, to inſpire her huſband with confidence in her morals both before and after marriage? Does ſhe mean to irritate his paſſions, which are always more violent in a raviſher than in a favoured lover? Or does ſhe think of enhancing the value ſhe ſets upon her charms, upon her favours, and upon the ſacrifice of her liberty? The king of Bantam having juſt overcome the reſiſtance of a new bride, made public entertainments in celebration of his triumph. The ſtrangers in the harbour were invited to theſe feſtivals. The Engliſh, unfortunately for them, were treated with too much diſtinction. The Dutch looked with a jealous eye upon this preference, and did not defer revenge a moment. They attacked them on all ſides.

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THE Indian ocean became, at this period, the ſcene of the moſt bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. They ſought out, attacked, and combated each other with the ſpirit of men who choſe to conquer or to die. Equal courage appeared on both ſides, but there was a diſparity in their forces. The Engliſh were on the point of being overcome, when ſome moderate people in Europe, which the flames of war had not reached, endeavoured to find out the means of accommodating their differences. By an infatuation, which it is not eaſy to explain, the very ſtrangeſt of all was adopted.

IN 1619, the two companies ſigned a treaty, the purport of which was, that the Molucca iſlands, Amboyna and Banda, ſhould belong in common to the two nations: that the Engliſh ſhould have one third, and the Dutch two thirds of the produce at a fixed price: that each, in proportion to the benefit they received, ſhould contribute to the defence of theſe iſlands: that a council, compoſed of ſkilful men of both parties, ſhould regulate all the affairs of commerce at Batavia: that this agreement, guaranteed by the reſpective ſovereigns, ſhould laſt twenty years: and that, if any differences ſhould ariſe during this interval that could not be ſettled by the two companies, they ſhould be determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces. Among all the political conventions preſerved in hiſtory, it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary one than this. It met with the fate it deſerved.

THE

THE Dutch in India were no ſooner informed of it, than they deviſed means to render it ineffectual. The ſituation of affairs favoured their deſigns. The Spaniards and the Portugueſe had taken advantage of the diſputes between their enemies, to regain the ſettlements in the Moluccas. They might fortify themſelves there; and it was dangerous to give them time. The Engliſh commiſſaries concurred with them in opinion, that it would be beſt to attack them without delay; but added, that they were not in the leaſt prepared to act in concert with them. This declaration, which was expected, was regiſtered; and their aſſociates embarked alone in an expedition, all the advantages of which they reſerved to themſelves. The agents of the Dutch company had only one ſtep further to go, to get all the ſpices into the hands of their maſters, which was, to drive their rivals from the iſland of Amboyna. The method by which they ſucceeded in this project was very extraordinary.

A JAPANESE, in the Dutch ſervice at Amboyna, made himſelf ſuſpected by his imprudent curioſity. He was ſeized, and confeſſed that he had entered into an engagement with the ſoldiers of his nation to deliver up the fort to the Engliſh. His comrades confirmed his account, making the ſame confeſſion. Upon theſe unanimous depoſitions, the authors of the conſpiracy, who did not diſavow, but even acknowleged it, were loaded with irons: and the ignominious death which all the criminals were condemned to ſuffer, put an

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end to the plot. This is the account given by the Dutch.

THE Engliſh have always conſidered this accuſation as the ſuggeſtion of an unbounded avarice. They have maintained, that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe, that ten factors and eleven foreign ſoldiers could have formed the project of ſeizing upon a place which was garriſoned by two hundred men: that even, if theſe unhappy perſons had thought it poſſible to execute ſo extravagant a plan, they would have been diſcouraged by the impoſſibility of obtaining ſuccours to defend them againſt an enemy who would have beſieged them on all ſides. To make a conſpiracy of this kind probable, it requires ſtronger proof than a confeſſion extorted from the accuſed by extremity of torture. The torments of the rack never afforded any other proof, than that of the courage or weakneſs of thoſe whom barbarous cuſtom had condemned to it. Theſe conſiderations, ſtrengthened by ſeveral others almoſt equally convincing, have made the ſtory of the conſpiracy of Amboyna ſo ſuſpected, that it has generally been conſidered as a mere excuſe for the moſt atrocious avarice.

THE miniſtry of James I. and the whole nation, were at that time ſo engaged in eccleſiaſtical ſubtleties, and the diſcuſſion of the rights of king and people, that they were not ſenſible of the inſults offered to the Engliſh name in the Eaſt. This indifference produced a caution which ſoon degenerated into weakneſs. Theſe iſlanders, however,

Diſputes of the Engliſh with the Portugueſe.

however, maintained the bravery of their character better at Coromandel and Malabar.

They had eſtabliſhed factories at Mazulipatam, Calicut, and ſeveral other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richeſt mart in theſe countries, tempted their ambition in 1611. The inhabitants were diſpoſed to receive them; but the Portugueſe declared, that if this nation were ſuffered to make a ſettlement, they would burn all the towns upon the coaſt, and ſeize all the Indian veſſels. The government was awed by theſe menaces. Middleton, diſappointed in his hopes, was obliged to abandon the place, and return through a numerous fleet, to which he did more damage than he received from it.

Captain Thomas Beſt arrived in theſe latitudes the year following, with a very conſiderable force. He was received at Surat without any oppoſition. The agents he carried out with him had ſcarce entered upon their employments when a formidable armament from Goa made it's appearance. The Engliſh admiral, reduced to this alternative, either of betraying the intereſts he was intruſted with, or of expoſing himſelf to the greateſt danger in defending them, did not heſitate what part he ſhould take. He twice attacked the Portugueſe, and, notwithſtanding the great inferiority of his ſquadron, gained the victory each time. However, the advantage the vanquiſhed derived from their poſition, their ports, and their fortreſſes, always made the Engliſh navigation in Guzarat very difficult. They were obliged to maintain a conſtant ſtruggle againſt an

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obſtinate enemy that was not diſcouraged by defeats. No tranquillity was to be obtained, but at the price of new conteſts and new triumphs.

The Engliſh form connections with Perſia.

THE news of theſe glorious ſucceſſes, againſt a nation which had hitherto been thought invincible, reached as far as the capital of Perſia.

THIS vaſt country, ſo celebrated in antiquity, appears to have been free at the firſt inſtitution of it's government. The monarchy roſe upon the ruins of a depraved republic. The Perſians were long happy under this form of government; their manners were as ſimple as their laws. At length, the ſovereigns were inſpired with the ſpirit of conqueſt. At that time, the treaſures of Aſſyria, the ſpoils of many trading nations, and the tribute ariſing from a vaſt number of provinces, brought immenſe riches into the empire, which ſoon occaſioned a total alteration. The diſorders roſe to ſuch a pitch, that the care of the public amuſements ſeemed to engage the chief attention of government.

A PEOPLE, totally devoted to pleaſure, could not fail, in a ſhort time, of being reduced to ſlavery. They were ſucceſſively brought into that ſtate by the Macedonians, the Parthians, the Arabians, and the Tartars, and towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century by the Sophis, who pretended to be the deſcendents of Aly, author of the famous reformation, by which Mohammediſm was divided into two branches.

No prince of this new race made himſelf ſo famous as Schah-Abbas, ſurnamed the Great. He conquered Candahar, ſeveral places of im-

portance upon the Black Sea, part of Arabia, and drove the Turks out of Georgia, Armenia, Meſopotamia, and all the countries they had conquered beyond the Euphrates.

THESE victories produced remarkable changes in the interior adminiſtration of the empire. The great men took advantage of the civil broils to make themſelves independent; they were degraded, and all poſts of conſequence were given to ſtrangers, who had neither the power nor inclination to raiſe factions. The army having taken upon themſelves to diſpoſe of the crown at their pleaſure; they were reſtrained by foreign troops, whoſe religion and cuſtoms were different. Anarchy had inclined the people to ſedition; and to prevent this, the towns and villages were filled with inhabitants choſen out of nations, whoſe manners and character bore no reſemblance to thoſe of the ancient inhabitants. Theſe arrangements gave riſe to a deſpotiſm the moſt abſolute, perhaps, that any country has ever experienced.

IT is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the great Abbas ſhould have combined ſome views of public utility with this government, which was naturally oppreſſive. He patronized the arts, and eſtabliſhed them in the capital, and in the provinces. All perſons who brought into his dominions talents of any kind, were ſure of being well received, aſſiſted, and rewarded. He would often ſay, that ſtrangers were the beſt ornaments of an empire, and added more to the dignity of the prince than the pomp of the moſt refined luxury.

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WHILE Perſia was riſing from it's ruins by the different branches of induſtry that were every where eſtabliſhed, a number of Armenians, tranſplanted to Iſpahan, carried the ſpirit of commerce into the heart of the empire. In a little time, theſe traders, and the natives of the country who followed their example, ſpread themſelves over the Eaſt, into Holland, England, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic, and wherever commerce was carried on with ſpirit and advantage. The Sophi himſelf bore a part in their enterprizes, and advanced them conſiderable ſums, which they employed to advantage in the moſt celebrated marts in the world. They were obliged to return the capital on the terms agreed upon, and if they had increaſed it by their induſtry, he granted them ſome recompence.

THE Portugueſe, who found that part of the Indian trade with Aſia and Europe was likely to be diverted to Perſia, impoſed reſtraints upon it. They would not ſuffer the Perſians to purchaſe merchandize any where but from their magazines: they fixed the price of it; and if they ſometimes allowed it to be taken at the places where it was manufactured, it was always to be carried in their own bottoms, charging all expences of freight and exorbitant cuſtoms. This ſtretch of power diſpleaſed the great Abbas, who being informed of the reſentment of the Engliſh, propoſed to unite their maritime ſtrength with his land-forces, to beſiege Ormus. This place was attacked by the combined arms of the two nations, and taken in the year 1623, after a conteſt that laſted two months.

months. The conquerors divided the ſpoil, which was immenſe, and afterwards totally demoliſhed the place.

THREE or four leagues from hence the harbour of Gombroon preſented itſelf, ſince called Bender Abaſſi. Nature ſeemed not to have deſigned that it ſhould be inhabited. It is ſituated at the foot of a ridge of mountains of an exceſſive height; the air you breathe ſeems to be on fire; fatal vapours are continually exhaling from the bowels of the earth; the fields are black and dry, as if they had been ſcorched with fire. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniencies, as Bender-Abaſſi had the advantage of being placed at the entrance of the Gulph, the Perſian monarch choſe to make it the center of the extenſive trade he intended to carry on with India. The Engliſh joined in this project. A perpetual exemption from all impoſts, and a moiety of the product of the cuſtoms, were granted them, on condition that they ſhould maintain, at leaſt, two men of war in the Gulph. This precaution was thought neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of the Portugueſe, whoſe reſentment was ſtill to be dreaded.

FROM this time Bender-Abaſſi, which was before a poor fiſhing town, became a flouriſhing city. The Engliſh carried thither ſpices, pepper, and ſugar, from the markets of the Eaſt; and iron, lead, and cloths, from the ports of Europe. The profits ariſing from theſe commodities were increaſed by the very high freight paid them by the Armenians, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the richeſt branch of the Indian commerce.

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These merchants had, for a long time, been concerned in the linen trade. They had never been ſupplanted either by the Portugueſe, who were intent only on plunder, or by the Dutch, whoſe attention was totally confined to the ſpice trade. They might, nevertheleſs, be apprehenſive, that they ſhould not be able to withſtand the competition of a people who were equally rich, induſtrious, active, and frugal. The Armenians acted then as they have ever done ſince: they went to India, where they bought cotton, which they ſent to the ſpinners; the cloths were manufactured under their own inſpection, and carried to Gombroon, from whence they were tranſported to Iſpahan. From thence they were conveyed into the different provinces of the empire, the dominions of the Grand Signior, and into Europe, where the cuſtom has prevailed of calling them Perſian manufactures, though they were never made but on the coaſt of Coromandel. Such is the influence of names upon opinions, that the vulgar error, which attributes to Perſia the manufacture of India, will, in a ſeries of ages, perhaps, paſs with the learned in future times for an inconteſtible truth. The inſurmountable difficulties which errors of this kind have occaſioned in the hiſtory of Pliny, and other ancient writers, ſhould induce us to ſet a high value on the labours of the literati of this age, who collect the works of nature and of art, with a view of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

In exchange for the merchandize they carried to Perſia, they gave the following articles, which were

were either the produce of their own ſoil, or the fruits of their induſtry.

SILK, which was the principal commodity; and was prepared and exported in great quantities.

CARAMANIAN wool, which nearly reſembles that of the Vicuna. It was of great uſe in the manufacture of hats, and of ſome ſtuffs. It is a remarkable circumſtance in the goats which ſupply it, that in the month of May the fleece falls off of itſelf.

TURQUOISES, which were more or leſs valuable, according as they were procured from one or other of the three mines that produce them. They were formerly an article of the dreſs of our ladies.

GOLD brocades, which ſold at a higher price than any of thoſe which are the produce of the moſt celebrated manufactures. Some of them were made to be wor'n on one, and others on both ſides. They were uſed for window-curtains, ſkreens, and magnificent ſophas.

TAPESTRY, which has ſince been ſo well imitated in Europe, and has for a long time been the richeſt furniture of our rooms.

MOROCCO leather, which, as other ſkins, is brought to a degree of perfection that cannot be equalled any where elſe.

SHAGREEN, goats hair, roſe-water, medicinal roots, gums for colours, dates, horſes, arms, and many other articles, of which ſome were ſold in India, and others carried to Europe.

ALTHOUGH the Dutch had contrived to get all the trade of the Eaſt Indies into their hands, they

viewed

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viewed the tranſactions of Perſia with a jealous eye. They thought the privileges enjoyed by their rivals in the road of Bender-Abaſſi, might be compenſated by the advantage they had in having a greater quantity of ſpices; and entered into a competition with them.

Decline of the Engliſh in India.

THE Engliſh, haraſſed in every mart by a powerful enemy reſolutely bent on their deſtruction, were obliged every where to give way. Their fate was haſtened by thoſe civil and religious diſſentions, which drowned their country in blood, and extinguiſhed all ſentiment and knowlege. India was totally forgotten, while more important intereſts were at ſtake; and the company, oppreſſed and diſcouraged, were reduced to nothing at the time that the death of Charles I. afforded ſo inſtructive and dreadful a leſſon.

CROMWELL, enraged at the favours the Dutch had ſhew'n to the unfortunate family of the Stuarts, and at the aſylum they had afforded to the Engliſh who had been proſcribed; and piqued that the republic of the United Provinces ſhould pretend to the dominion of the ſea; proud of his ſucceſs, and ſenſible of his own ſtrength, and of that of the nation under his command, reſolved at the ſame time to inſpire reſpect for his country, and to avenge himſelf. He declared war againſt the Dutch.

OF all the maritime wars which have been recorded in hiſtory, none were conducted with more knowlege, or were more famous for the ſkill of the commanders, and the bravery of the ſailors; none have abounded with ſo many obſtinate and

bloody engagements. The Engliſh gained the ſuperiority, and owed it to the ſize of their ſhips, in which particular they have ſince been imitated by other European nations.

THE Protector, whoſe voice was law, did not exert himſelf as far as he might in favour of India. He contented himſelf with providing for the ſecurity of the Engliſh trade, procuring a diſavowal of the maſſacre at Amboyna, and inſiſting upon an indemnification for the deſcendents of the unhappy victims who periſhed in that dreadful tranſaction. No mention was made in the treaty, of the forts taken from the nation by the Dutch in the iſland of Java, and in ſeveral of the Moluccas. It was ſtipulated, indeed, that the iſland of Puleron ſhould be returned; but the trees that furniſh the ſpices were all rooted up before the iſland was reſtored to it's former maſters. As the ſoil however ſtill remained, and that, in proceſs of time, it might prove an obſtacle to the monopoly which Holland meant to eſtabliſh, it was retaken in 1666; and the republic could never be prevailed upon by the intreaties of France to give it up.

Revival of the Engliſh trade in India.

NOTWITHSTANDING this neglect, as ſoon as the company had obtained from the Protector a renewal of their privileges in 1657, and found themſelves firmly ſupported by the public authority, they ſhewed a ſpirit of reſolution which they had loſt during their late misfortunes. Their courage increaſed with their privileges.

THE ſucceſs they had met with in Europe, accompanied them into Aſia, Arabia, Perſia, Indoſtan,

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doſtan, the eaſtern parts of India, China; and all the markets where the Engliſh had formerly traded, were opened to them. They were even received with more frankneſs and leſs diſtruſt than they had experienced formerly. Their trade was carried on with great activity, and their profits were very conſiderable; nothing was wanting to complete their ſucceſs, but to gain admittance into Japan, which they attempted. But the Japaneſe, being informed by the Dutch that the king of England had married a daughter of the king of Portugal, refuſed to admit the Engliſh into their ports.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſappointment, the company's affairs were in a very flouriſhing condition: they flattered themſelves with the pleaſing hopes of giving a greater extent and ſecurity to their trade, when they found their career retarded by a rivalſhip, which their own ſucceſs created.

Miſfortunes and miſconduct of the Engliſh in India.

SOME traders, fired with the relation of the advantages to be obtained in India, reſolved to undertake voyages to that country. Charles II. who, though ſeated on the throne, was nothing more than a private man of voluptuous and diſſolute manners, gave them permiſſion for a valuable conſideration: while, on the other hand, he extorted large ſums from the company, to enable him to perſecute thoſe who encroached upon their charter. A competition of this nature would unavoidably degenerate into piracy. The Engliſh, thus becoming enemies to each other, carried on their diſputes with a ſpirit of rancour and animoſity,

moſity, which lowered them in the opinion of the people of Aſia.

The Dutch wiſhed to take advantage of ſo ſingular a conjuncture. Theſe republicans had for a long time been abſolute maſters of the Indian trade. They had ſeen with regret a part of it taken out of their hands, at the concluſion of the civil wars in England. They hoped to recover it by the ſuperiority of their forces, when in 1664 the two nations entered into a war in all parts of the world; but the hoſtilities did not continue long enough to anſwer theſe ſanguine expectations. As the peace prevented them from having recourſe to open violence againſt one another, they reſolved to attack the ſovereigns of the country to oblige them to ſhut their ports againſt their rival. The fooliſh and deſpicable behaviour of the Engliſh increaſed the inſolence of the Dutch, who proceeded ſo far as to drive them ignominiouſly from Bantam in 1680.

So ſerious and public an inſult rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh company. The deſire of re-eſtabliſhing their character, gratifying their revenge, and maintaining their intereſts, animated them to the moſt ſpirited exertions. They equipped a fleet of twenty-three ſhips, with eight thouſand regular troops on board. They were ready to ſail, when their departure was poſtponed by the king's orders. Charles, whoſe neceſſities and licentiouſneſs were unbounded, entertained hopes of receiving an immenſe ſum to induce him to revoke this order. As he could not obtain it from his ſubjects, he was reſolved to receive it from his enemies.

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mies. He ſacrificed the honour and trade of his nation for 2,250,000 livres*, which were paid him by the Dutch, who were intimidated by theſe great preparations. The intended expedition never took place.

The company, exhauſted by the expences of an armament which had been rendered uſeleſs by the venality of the court, ſent their veſſels to India without the neceſſary funds to ſupply the cargoes; but with orders to the factors, if poſſible, to take them upon credit. The faith they had hitherto obſerved in their engagements procured them 6,750,000 livres †. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the method that was taken to pay them back.

Josias Child, who from being a director was become the tyrant of the Company, is ſaid, unknow'n to his colleagues, to have ſent orders to India, to invent ſome pretence or other to defraud the lenders of their money. The execution of this iniquitous project was entruſted to his brother John Child, who was governor of Bombay. This avaricious, turbulent, and ſavage man immediately proceeded to make ſeveral claims upon the governor of Surat, ſome more ridiculous than others. Theſe demands being anſwered as they deſerved, he attacked all the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the crown of Delhi, and ſingled out in particular the ſhips from Surat, as being the richeſt. He paid no regard to veſſels that ſailed with paſſports from that crown, and

* 93,749 l. † 281,250 l.

carried

carried his inſolence ſo far as to ſeize a fleet laden with proviſion for the Mogul's army. This terrible pillage, which laſted the whole year 1688, occaſioned incredible loſſes throughout all Indoſtan.

AURENGZEBE, who held the reins of the empire with a ſteady hand, did not loſe a moment in revenging ſo great an outrage. In the beginning of the year 1589, one of his lieutenants landed with twenty thouſand men at Bombay, an iſland of conſequence on the coaſt of Malabar, which a princeſs of Portugal had brought as her dowry to Charles II. and which that monarch had ceded to the company in 1668. On the enemy's approach, the fort of Magazan was abandoned with ſuch precipitation, that money, proviſions, ſeveral cheſts of arms, and fourteen pieces of heavy cannon were left behind. The Indian general, encouraged by this firſt advantage, attacked the Engliſh in the field, routed them, and obliged them to retire into the principal fortreſs, which he inveſted, where he hoped ſoon to make them ſurrender.

CHILD, who was as cowardly in time of danger as he had been daring in his piracies, immediately diſpatched deputies to the emperor's court, to ſue for pardon. After many intreaties, and much ſubmiſſion, the Engliſh were admitted into the emperor's preſence with their hands tied, and their faces towards the ground. Aurengzebe, who was deſirous of preſerving a connection which he thought would be uſeful to his ſubjects, was not inflexible. Having delivered himſelf in the ſtile of an incenſed ſovereign, who could, and ought,

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perhaps, to revenge himſelf, he yielded to their intreaties and ſubmiſſion. The removal of the author of the troubles, and an adequate compenſation for ſuch of his ſubjects as had been plundered, was all the juſtice exacted on this occaſion by the ſupreme will of the moſt deſpotic monarch that ever exiſted. On theſe moderate terms, the Engliſh were permitted ſtill to enjoy the privileges they had obtained at different times in the roads belonging to the Mogul.

THUS ended this unhappy affair, which for ſeveral years interrupted the trade of the company, brought on an expence of between nine and ten millions *, occaſioned the loſs of five large veſſels, and a greater number of ſmall ones; deſtroyed many thouſand excellent ſailors, and ended in the ruin of the credit and honour of the nation; two particulars, the value of which is above every conſideration, and for which the two Childs ought to have forfeited their lives.

BY changing their maxims and their conduct, the company might have flattered themſelves with the proſpect of being extricated from the abyſs into which their own behaviour had plunged them. Theſe hopes were ſoon daſhed by a revolution which did not directly concern them. James II. a tyrannical and fanatic prince, but one who underſtood maritime affairs and commerce better than any of his cotemporaries, was depoſed. This event put all Europe in arms. The conſequences of theſe bloody quarrels are well know'n. Perhaps,

* On an average about 416,000 l.

it

it is not a matter of ſuch univerſal notoriety, that the French privateers took four thouſand two hundred Engliſh merchantmen, valued at ſix hundred ſeventy-five millions of livres *, and that the greateſt part of the veſſels returning from India were included in this fatal liſt.

THESE depredations were ſucceeded by a commercial arrangement, which muſt naturally haſten the ruin of the company. The French refugees had carried the culture of flax and hemp into Ireland and Scotland. For the encouragement of this branch of induſtry, it was thought proper to prohibit the wear of Indian linens, except muſlins, and thoſe which were neceſſary for the African trade. Was it poſſible that a body already exhauſted ſhould ſuſtain ſo unforeſeen, ſo heavy a ſtroke?

THE peace which ſhould have put an end to theſe misfortunes, filled up the meaſure of them. A general clamour was raiſed in the three kingdoms againſt the company. It was not their decline that raiſed them enemies; it only encouraged thoſe they had already. They had met with oppoſition at their firſt eſtabliſhment. Ever ſince the year 1615, ſeveral politicians had declaimed againſt the trade to the Eaſt Indies. They aſſerted, that it weakened the naval ſtrength by deſtroying great numbers of men; and leſſened the Levant and Ruſſian commerce, without affording an equivalent advantage. Theſe clamours, though contradicted by judicious people, grew ſo violent to-

* 28,125,000 l.

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wards the year 1628, that the company, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the odium of the nation, applied to government. They petitioned that the nature of their commerce might be examined: that it might be prohibited, if it were contrary to the intereſts of the ſtate; and if favourable to them, that it might be authoriſed by a public declaration. The oppoſition of the nation, which had lain ſome time dormant, was renewed with more fury than ever, at the period we are ſpeaking of. Thoſe who were leſs ſevere in their ſpeculations, conſented to a trade with India; but maintained that it ſhould be laid open to the whole nation. An excluſive charter was, in their opinion, a manifeſt encroachment upon liberty. According to them, government was eſtabliſhed by the people with a view of advancing the general good; and it would be a crime againſt it to ſacrifice public to private intereſts, by tolerating odious monopolies. They ſupported this uſeful and inconteſtable principle, by appealing to a recent inſtance. They urged, that, during the rebellion, the private merchants who had got poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic ſeas, carried double the quantity of national goods that were formerly brought, and were enabled to ſell commodities on their return at ſo low a price as to ſupplant the Dutch in all European markets. But thoſe acute republicans, who were certain of their ruin, if the Engliſh ſhould continue any longer to conduct their affairs on the principles of univerſal liberty, bribed ſome perſons to prevail with Cromwell to form a ſeparate company. Theſe ſecret practices were countenanced by the Engliſh

merchants concerned in that trade, who hoped for greater advantages in future; when being the only venders, they might impoſe what terms they pleaſed upon the conſumers. The protector, deceived by the artful inſinuations of both, renewed the charter, but for ſeven years only, that he might alter his conduct, if he found reaſon to think he had taken a wrong ſtep.

This ſtep did not appear improper to every one. Several people were of opinion, that the trade to India could not be carried on with advantage, without an excluſive privilege; but many of them maintained that the preſent charter was inſufficient, becauſe it had been granted to kings who had no right to grant it. They recited many acts of this kind which were abrogated by parliament in the reigns of Edward III. Henry IV. James I. and other princes. Charles II. indeed, obtained a verdict of this nature in the court of common pleas, but it was founded upon a frivolous pretence. This tribunal had the confidence to declare, *That the prince had authority to prevent his ſubjects from holding commerce with infidels, leſt the purity of their faith ſhould be contaminated.*

THOUGH the parties above-mentioned were actuated by private, and even oppoſite views, they all united in the plan of making the trade free, or at leaſt of procuring the reverſal of the company's charter. The nation, in general, were on their ſide: but the body that was attacked, defended itſelf by it's partiſans, the miniſtry, and all the dependents of the court, who made this a common cauſe. Each party had recourſe to libels, in-

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trigue and corruption. Theſe contending paſſions produced one of thoſe ſtorms, the violence of which can hardly be felt any where but in England. Theſeveral factions, ſects, and intereſts maintained a furious combat; in which they all mingled without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. Such a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm had never been raiſed by the greateſt events. To keep up the zeal of their friends, the company offered to lend large ſums on condition of obtaining their charter. Their adverſaries made offers ſtill more conſiderable to get it revoked.

The two houſes of parliament, before whom this cauſe was hear'd, declared in favour of the private merchants. They obtained leave to carry on trade to India, either ſeparately or in concert. They entered into an aſſociation, and formed a new company. The old one had permiſſion to continue it's voyages till the expiration of their charter, which was very near at hand. Thus England had two Eaſt India companies at the ſame time authoriſed by parliament, inſtead of one eſtabliſhed by royal authority.

These two bodies ſhewed as much zeal for the deſtruction of each other, as they had ſhew'n for their reſpective eſtabliſhment. They had both experienced the advantages of trade; and viewed each other with all the jealouſy and hatred, which ambition and avarice never fail to inſpire. Their diſſentions ſoon broke out with conſiderable violence in Europe, but chiefly in India. At laſt, the two ſocieties made advances towards a reconciliation, and united their funds in 1702. From this

period

period the affairs of the company were carried on with greater propriety, prudence, and dignity. The principles of commerce, which were every day better underſtood in England, had a good effect on their adminiſtration, as far as the intereſts of their monopoly could allow. They made improvements in their former ſettlements, and formed new ones. They endeavoured to indemnify themſelves for the profits they were deprived of by a ſtrong competition, by procuring a larger ſale for their commodities. Their charter was leſs violently attacked, ſince it had received the ſanction of the laws, and obtained the protection of parliament.

THEIR proſperity was interrupted by ſome tranſient misfortunes. In 1702 the Engliſh had formed a ſettlement in the iſland of Pulocondor, which was dependant on Cochin-China. Their deſign was to take a ſhare in the commerce of this rich kingdom, which, till then, had been too much neglected. An inſtance of exceſſive ſeverity had given diſguſt to ſixteen ſoldiers of Macaſſar, who were part of the garriſon. On the 3d of March 1705, they ſet fire in the night to the houſes belonging to the fort, and maſſacred the Europeans as they came out to extinguiſh it. Thirty out of forty-five loſt their lives in this manner; the reſt were maſſacred by the natives, who were exaſperated at the inſolence of theſe ſtrangers. By this accident the company loſt the money their enterpriſe had coſt them, together with the ſtock of their factories and the proſpects they had entertained.

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SEVERAL of their factories were threatened with other ſtorms; which had been collected by the turbulent ſpirit and avarice of their agents. A more moderate ſyſtem of politics made them forego ſome odious claims, and tranquillity was ſoon reſtored. It was not long before objects of more important concern engaged their attention.

War between the Engliſh and French.

ENGLAND and France entered into a war in 1744. The whole world became the ſcene of their diviſions. In India, as well as in other places, each nation ſuſtained it's character. The Engliſh, ever animated with the ſpirit of commerce, attacked and ruined that of their enemies. The French, adhering to their paſſion for conqueſt, ſeized upon the principal ſettlement belonging to their rival. The event ſhewed which of the two nations had acted with the greateſt prudence. That which attended only to it's own aggrandizement, ſank into a total inactivity; while the other, though deprived of the centre of it's power, carried it's enterprizes to a greater extent.

A CESSATION of hoſtilities between the two divided nations had no ſooner taken place, than they engaged themſelves as auxiliaries, in the quarrels of the Indian princes. Soon after they again took arms on their own account. Before the end of this war, the French were driven out of the continent and ſeas of Aſia. At the concluſion of the peace in 1763, the Engliſh company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the power, in Arabia, in the Perſian Gulph, on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, and at Bengal.

ALL

ALL theſe countries differ from each other in the climate, the manners, the ſoil, the productions, the ſpirit of induſtry, and the mode of ſelling and purchaſing. They ought to be accurately and thoroughly know'n. We will give a ſhort ſketch of them. This deſcription will be found to have a particular connection with the hiſtory of a nation, which has obtained a remarkable influence in thoſe countries, and derives from thence the greateſt advantages.

Deſcription of Arabia. Revolutions it has experienced. Character of it's inhabitants.

ARABIA is one of the largeſt peninſulas in the know'n world. It is bounded on the ſouth by the Indian Ocean; by the Gulph of Perſia on the eaſt; and on the weſt by the Red Sea, which ſeparates it from Africa: on the north, a line drawn at the extremity of the two gulphs, probably marked out it's boundary in antient times. Irac-Arabi, the deſert of Syria, and Paleſtine ſeem at preſent to make a part of it.

THE peninſula is divided, from north to ſouth, by a chain of mountains, leſs barren, and more temperate than the reſt of the country. The rain falls upon moſt of them for two or three months, at leaſt, in the year, but at different ſeaſons, according to their expoſition. The waters that deſcend from them are loſt among the ſands in the valleys, or pour down in torrents into the ſea, in proportion to the ſlope and diſtances. In one ſeaſon, the heat is ſo violent, that no perſon travels, and that even the ſlaves do not appear in the ſtreets, without an urgent neceſſity. Every kind of labour is then ſuſpended in the middle of the day. The greateſt part of the time is paſſed

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paſſed in ſleeping in ſubterraneous caverns, the air of which is renewed only by a tube.

THIS country is uſually divided into three parts; Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deſerta, and Arabia Felix, names which denote the nature of the ſoil in each of theſe countries.

ARABIA PETRÆA is the moſt weſtern, and the ſmalleſt of the three. It is for the moſt part uncultivated, and almoſt totally covered with rocks. In Arabia Deſerta, nothing is to be ſeen but dry plains, heaps of ſand raiſed and diſſipated by the wind, and ſteep mountains never embelliſhed with verdure. Springs are ſo rarely found there, that the poſſeſſion of them is always diſputed with the ſword. Arabia Felix owes it's ſpecious appellation leſs to it's fertility, than to it's vicinity to the barren countries that ſurround it. Theſe different regions enjoy a ſky conſtantly pure and ſerene.

ALL hiſtories agree that this country was peopled at a moſt early period of antiquity. It's firſt inhabitants came probably from Syria and Chaldea. It is not know'n at what period they began to be civilized; whether their knowlege was derived from India, or whether they acquired it themſelves. It appears that their religion was Sabeiſm, even before they were acquainted with the people of Upper Aſia. They had conceived ſublime ideas of the divinity at an early period: they worſhipped the ſtars as bodies animated by celeſtial ſpirits: their religion was neither cruel nor abſurd; and though they were liable to thoſe fallies of enthuſiaſm ſo common among the

ſouthern nations, they do not ſeem to have been tainted with fanaticiſm till the time of Mohammed. The inhabitants of Arabia Deſerta profeſſed a leſs rational kind of worſhip. Many of them worſhipped, and ſome offered human ſacrifices to the ſun. It is a truth that may be collected from the ſtudy of hiſtory, and the inſpection of the globe, that the religious ſyſtems in barren countries, ſubject to inundations and volcanos, have ever had a tincture of cruelty, and have always been of a milder caſt in countries more favoured by nature. They take their character from the climate where they are formed.

When Mohammed had eſtabliſhed a new religion in his country, it was no difficult taſk to infuſe a ſpirit of zeal into his followers; and this zeal made them conquerors. They extended their dominion from the weſtern ſeas to thoſe of China, and from the Canaries to the Molucca iſlands. They alſo carried along with them the uſeful arts, which they improved. The Arabians did not equally ſucceed in the fine arts; they ſhewed, indeed, ſome genius for them, but had not the leaſt idea of that taſte with which nature ſome time after inſpired the people who became their diſciples.

Perhaps genius, which is the offspring of a creative imagination, flouriſhes in hot countries, which abound with a variety of productions, grand ſcenes, and ſurpriſing events that excite enthuſiaſm; while taſte, which ſelects and reaps the produce of the fields that genius has ſow'n, ſeems rather to belong to people of a ſedate, mild,

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mild, and moderate diſpoſition, who live under the influence of a temperate ſky. Perhaps too, this ſame taſte, which is the effect of reaſon refined and matured by time, requires a degree of ſtability in the government, united with a certain freedom of thinking, a gradual improvement of knowlege, which, affording a greater ſcope to genius, enables it to diſcern more exactly the relation one object has to another, and to combine with happier art thoſe mixed ſenſations which give the higheſt entertainment to men of elegant minds. Accordingly, the Arabians, who were almoſt conſtantly forced into regions diſturbed with war and fanaticiſm, never enjoyed that temperature of government and climate which gives birth to taſte. But they introduced into the countries they conquered, ſciences which they had pillaged, as it were, in the courſe of their ravages, and all the arts eſſential to the proſperity of nations.

No nation at that time underſtood commerce ſo well, or carried it to a greater extent. They attended to it even in the courſe of their conqueſts. Their merchants, manufactures, and ſtaples, extended from Spain to Tonquin; and other people, at leaſt thoſe in the weſtern part of the world, were indebted to them for arts and ſciences, and all articles conducive to the convenience, the preſervation, and the pleaſures of life.

When the power of the Caliphs began to decline, the Arabians, after the example of ſeveral nations they had ſubdued, threw off the yoke of

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theſe princes, and the country re-aſſumed by degrees it's ancient form of government, as well as it's primitive manners. At this æra, the nation being, as formerly, divided into tribes, under the conduct of different chiefs, returned to their original character, from which fanaticiſm and ambition had made them depart.

THE ſtature of the Arabians is low, their bodies lean, and their voice ſlender; but they have robuſt conſtitutions, brown hair, a ſwarthy complexion, black ſparkling eyes, a witty, but ſeldom an agreeable, countenance. This contraſted mixture of features and qualities, which ſeem incompatible, appear to have been united in this race of men, to conſtitute a ſingular nation, whoſe figure and character partake ſtrongly of that of the Turks, Africans, and Perſians, by whom they are ſurrounded. Grave and ſerious, they conſider their long beards as marks of dignity; they ſpeak little, uſe no geſture, make no pauſes, nor interrupt one another in their converſation. They pique themſelves on obſerving the ſtricteſt probity towards each other, which is the effect of that ſelf-love, and that ſpirit of patriotiſm, which, united together, make any nation, clan, or ſociety, eſteem and prefer themſelves to the reſt of the world. The more carefully they preſerve their phlegmatic character, ſo much the more formidable is their reſentment when once it is raiſed. Theſe people have abilities, and even a genius for the ſciences; yet they cultivate them but little, either from want of aſſiſtance, or becauſe they have no occaſion for them: chuſing

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chuſing rather, no doubt, to ſuffer natural evils, than the inconvenience of labour. The Arabians of our days, diſplay no monument of genius, no productions of induſtry, which intitle them to hold any rank in the hiſtory of the human mind.

THEIR ruling paſſion is jealouſy; that torment of impetuous, weak, and indolent minds. It might naturally be aſked, whether this diſtruſt were owen to the high or contemptible opinion they entertained of themſelves? It is ſaid to be from the Arabians that ſeveral nations of Aſia, Africa, and even Europe itſelf, have borrowed thoſe deſpicable precautions this odious paſſion preſcribes againſt a ſex, which ought to be the guardian, not the ſlave of our pleaſures. As ſoon as a daughter is born, they unite by a kind of future thoſe parts which nature has ſeparated, leaving juſt ſpace enough for the natural diſcharges. As the child grows, the parts by degrees adhere ſo cloſely, that when they become marriageable they are obliged to be ſeparated by an inciſion. Sometimes it is thought ſufficient to make uſe of a ring. The married, as well as the unmarried women, are ſubjected to this outrage on the virtue of the ſex; with this difference only, that the ring wor'n by the young women cannot be taken off, whereas that of the married women has a kind of padlock, of which the huſband keeps the key. This cuſtom, which is know'n in all parts of Arabia, is almoſt univerſally adopted in that part which bears the name of Petræa.

SUCH

Such are the manners of the nation in general. The different mode of living among the people who compoſe it, muſt neceſſarily have introduced ſome peculiarities of character that are worth obſerving.

The number of Arabians who inhabit the deſert may amount to two millions. They are diſtributed into ſeveral clans, ſome of which are more populous and conſiderable than others, but all independent of each other. Their government is ſimple: an hereditary chief, aſſiſted by a few old men, determines all debates, and puniſhes the offenders. If he be hoſpitable, humane, and juſt, they adore him; if haughty, cruel, and avaricious, they aſſaſſinate him, and appoint a ſucceſſor out of his own family.

These people encamp at all ſeaſons of the year. They have no ſettled abode, and fix at different places where they can be ſupplied with water, fruits, and paſture. They find an infinite charm in this wandering life, and conſider the ſedentary Arabs in the light of ſlaves. They live upon the milk and fleſh of their herds. Their clothes, tents, cordage, and the carpets they ſleep upon, are all made of the wool of their ſheep, and the hair of their goats and camels. This is the employment of the women in each family; and there is not a ſingle artiſt in the whole deſert. What they conſume in tobacco, coffee, rice, and dates, is purchaſed with the butter they carry to the frontiers, and by the money ariſing from the annual ſale of more than twenty thouſand camels. Theſe animals, ſo uſeful in the eaſt, were formerly

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ly carried to Syria. Moſt of them are now ſent to Perſia, the perpetual wars there having occaſioned an extraordinary demand for them, and diminiſhed their ſpecies.

THESE articles not being ſufficient to ſupply the Arabs with what they want, they have contrived to raiſe a contribution on the caravans, which ſuperſtition leads to travel through their ſandy regions. The moſt numerous of theſe, which goes from Damaſcus to Mecca, procures a ſafe paſſage by a tribute of a hundred purſes, or a hundred and fifty thouſand livres *, to which the Grand Signior is ſubjected, and which, by ancient agreement, is diſtributed among all the hords. The other caravans make ſimilar terms with the hords, through whoſe territories they are obliged to paſs.

INDEPENDENT of this reſource, the Arabs inhabiting the moſt northern part of the deſert, have had recourſe to plunder. Theſe people, ſo humane, faithful, and diſintereſted towards each other, are ſavage and rapacious in their tranſactions with foreigners. While they preſerve in their tents the character of beneficent and generous hoſts, they commit continual depredations in the towns and villages of their neighbourhood. They are good fathers, good huſbands, and good maſters; but all are enemies who do not belong to their family. They frequently carry their incurſions to a great diſtance; and Syria, Meſopotamia, and Perſia, are not uncommonly the ſcenes of their depredations.

* 6,250l.

THE

THE Arabs, who devote themſelves to plunder, form a ſort of ſociety with the camels, to carry on trade or war, where the man is to have all the profit, and the animal the principal fatigue. As theſe two beings are to live together, they are brought up with a view to each other. The Arab trains his camel from it's birth, to all the exerciſes and hardſhips it is to undergo during the whole courſe of it's life. He accuſtoms it to labour hard, and to eat little. The animal is early inured to paſs it's days without drinking, and it's nights without ſleep. He teaches it to draw up it's legs under it's belly, while it ſuffers itſelf to be laden with burdens, that are inſenſibly increaſed as it's ſtrength is improved by age, and by the habit of bearing fatigue. In this ſingular plan of education, which princes ſometimes adopt the more eaſily to tame their ſubjects, in proportion as the labour of the animal is doubled, it's ſubſiſtence is diminiſhed. The Arabians qualify the camels for expedition, by matches, in which the horſe runs againſt him. The camel, leſs active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long courſe. When the maſter and the camel are ready and equipped for plunder, they ſet out together, traverſe the ſandy deſerts, and lie in ambuſh upon the confines to rob the merchant or traveller. The man ravages, maſſacres, and ſeizes the prey: and the camel carries the booty. If theſe adventurers are purſued, they make a precipitate retreat. The maſter robber mounts his favourite camel, drives the whole troop before him, travels three hundred leagues in eight days

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without unloading his camels, or allowing them more than an hour each day for reſt, or a cake of dough for their ſubſiſtence. They ſometimes remain the whole time without drinking, unleſs they happen to ſmell out a ſpring at a little diſtance from the road, when they redouble their pace, run to the water with eagerneſs, which makes them take at one draught as much as is ſufficient to quench their preſent thirſt, and ſerve them to the end of their journey. Such is the animal ſo often celebrated in the Bible, the Coran, and the eaſtern romances.

The Arabs, who live in diſtricts that afford ſome ſlender paſture, and where the ſoil is proper for barley, breed the fineſt horſes in the world. Theſe horſes are ſent into all parts to improve and multiply the breed of theſe animals, which are every where inferior in ſwiftneſs, beauty, and ſagacity, to thoſe of Arabia. Their owners live with them as with domeſtics, on whoſe ſervice and affection they can rely: and it happens with them as with all other wandering people, thoſe, in particular, who treat animals with kindneſs, that both the men and the animals partake, in ſome meaſure, of each other's manners and diſpoſition. Theſe Arabs are ſimple, mild, and docile: and the different religions that have prevailed in theſe countries, and the ſeveral governments of which they have been the ſubjects or tributaries, have produced very little alteration in the character they derive from climate or from habit.

The Arabs ſettled near the Indian and the Red Sea, and thoſe who inhabit Arabia Felix, were

formerly a mild people, fond of liberty, and content with a ſtate of independence, without dreaming of conqueſt. They were too much prejudiced in favour of the beauty of their ſky, and of the ſoil that ſupplied their wants almoſt without culture, to be tempted to extend their dominion over different countries lying in another climate. Mohammed changed their ideas: but they retain no traces of the impreſſions he communicated to them. They paſs their time in ſmoking, taking coffee, opium, and ſherbet; or in burning exquiſite perfumes, the ſmoke of which they receive in their clothes, which are ſlightly ſprinkled with roſe water. Theſe gratifications are often preceded or followed by ſinging gallant, or amorous verſes.

Their compoſitions, both in point of expreſſion and ſentiment, have a degree of grace, ſoftneſs, and refinement, far beyond any thing we find amongſt any other people, antient or modern. The language they ſpeak in this world to their miſtreſſes, ſeems as if it were the ſame as that which they will ſpeak to their houris in the other. It is a kind of muſick ſo moving and ſo fine; a murmur ſo ſoft, compariſons ſo agreeable and blooming, that one would almoſt ſay, their poetry was perfumed as their climate. The imitations of nature in the Arabian poems, are of the ſame kind as the expreſſions of honour among our antient knights. The latter is the quinteſſence of virtue, the former of voluptuouſneſs. They are deſcribed as exhauſted by the ardour of their paſſion, and of the climate, and having ſcarce the power to breathe. They give themſelves

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ſelves up, without reſerve, to this delicious languor, which, perhaps, they would not experience under any other ſky.

General trade with Arabia, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

BEFORE the Portugueſe had intercepted the navigation of the Red Sea, the Arabs had more activity. They were the factors of all the trade that paſſed through this channel. Aden, which is ſituated at the moſt ſouthern extremity of Arabia upon the Indian ocean, was the ſtaple of this trade. The ſituation of it's harbour, which opened an eaſy communication with Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Perſia, had rendered it, for many ages, one of the moſt flouriſhing factories in Aſia. Fifteen years after it had repulſed the great Albuquerque, who attempted to demoliſh it in 1513, it ſubmitted to the Turks, who did not long remain maſters of it. The king of Yemen, who poſſeſſed the only diſtrict in Arabia that merits the title of Happy, drove them from thence, and removed the trade to Mocha, a place in his dominions, which till then was only a village.

THIS trade was at firſt inconſiderable; conſiſting principally in myrrh, incenſe, aloes, balm of Mecca, ſome aromatics and medicinal drugs. Theſe articles, the exportation of which is continually retarded by exorbitant impoſts, and does not exceed at preſent ſeven or eight hundred thouſand livres*, were at that time more in repute than they have been ſince; but muſt have been always of little conſequence. Soon after a great change enſued from the introduction of coffee.

* Upon an average 30,000l.

THE

THE coffee-tree is originally a native of Upper Ethiopia, where it has been know'n time immemorial, and is ſtill cultivated with ſucceſs. M. Lagrenée de Mezieres, one of the moſt intelligent agents that France ever had in the India ſervice, had ſome of the fruit in his poſſeſſion, and has often made uſe of it. He found it to be larger, rather longer, not ſo green, and almoſt as fragrant as that which was firſt gathered in Arabia towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

IT is commonly believed, that a Mollach, named Chadely, was the firſt among the Arabs who made uſe of coffee, to relieve himſelf from a continual drowzineſs which hindered him from attending punctually to his nocturnal devotions. His derviſes did the ſame: and their example was followed by the lawyers. It was ſoon found out, that this liquor purified the blood by a gentle agitation, diſſipated the crudities of the ſtomach, and raiſed the ſpirits; and it was adopted even by thoſe who had no occaſion to keep themſelves awake. It paſſed from the borders of the Red Sea to Medina and Mecca, and was introduced by the pilgrims into all the Mohammedan countries.

IN theſe countries, where there is leſs freedom of manners than in our's, where the jealouſy of the men, and the cloſe confinement of the women, make ſociety leſs lively, it was thought proper to encourage public coffee-houſes. Thoſe in Perſia ſoon became infamous, where young Georgian women, dreſſed like courtezans, acted obſcene plays, and proſtituted themſelves for hire. When

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theſe offenſive irregularities were ſuppreſſed by order of the court, theſe houſes became places of decent reſort for the indolent, and of relaxation for men of buſineſs. The politicians entertained themſelves with news, the poets recited their verſes, and the Mollachs delivered their ſermons there, which were uſually rewarded with ſome charitable donations.

AFFAIRS were not in the ſame peaceable ſtate at Conſtantinople. The coffee-houſes were no ſooner opened than they were frequented to exceſs. People ſpent their whole time in them. The grand Mufti, exaſperated to ſee the Moſques abandoned, pronounced that the infuſion of this plant was included in that law of Mohammed, which forbad the uſe of ſtrong liquors. Government, which frequently aids the ſuperſtition of which it is ſometimes the dupe, gave immediate orders that the houſes which had given ſuch offence to the prieſts, ſhould be ſhut up; and enjoined the officers of police to put a ſtop to the uſe of this liquor in private families. The ſtrong inclination they had for it ſtill prevailed over all theſe ſevere regulations. Coffee continued to be drunk, and even the places where it was to be had, ſoon grew more numerous than ever.

UPON this occaſion I ſhould be much inclined to ſay to ſovereigns; if you are deſirous that your laws ſhould be obſerved, take care that they never ſhould be made in oppoſition to nature. I ſhould ſay to prieſts: let not your morality proſcribe innocent pleaſures. You may both of you threaten and thunder as much as you will; you may

ſhew

ſhew us your dungeons open, or hell under our feet: but you will never ſtifle in me the deſire of being happy. I will be happy, is the firſt article of a code, anterior to every ſyſtem of legiſlation or morality.

In the middle of the laſt century, Kuproli, the Grand Vizier, went in diſguiſe to the principal coffee-houſes in Conſtantinople. He there found a number of mal-contents, who, thinking the affairs of government were in reality the concern of every private perſon, ſpoke of them with warmth, and arraigned with great boldneſs the conduct of the generals and miniſters. He then viſited the taverns, where wine was ſold. They were full of plain people, chiefly ſoldiers, who, accuſtomed to conſider the intereſts of the ſtate as thoſe of the prince for whom they entertained a ſilent veneration, ſang lively ſongs, talked of their amours, and warlike exploits. Theſe laſt ſocieties, which are attended with no inconveniencies, he thought ought to be tolerated: but the firſt he conſidered as dangerous under an abſolute government. He had not ſufficiently conſidered this matter, to convince himſelf, that they were not more calculated to raiſe apprehenſions than the others. Even in a deſpotic ſtate, the people who are oppreſſed muſt be left at liberty to complain, for it is a relief to them. That ſort of diſcontent which evaporates itſelf is not the one to be feared. Rebellions ariſe from that ſpirit of diſſatisfaction, which, being concealed, is worked up by internal fermentation, and breaks out in the moſt ſpeedy and terrible effects. Woe to thoſe ſovereigns, whoſe

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oppreſſions are continually increaſing, till the murmurs of the people ceaſe.

However this may be, the regulation which was confined to the capital of the empire, has not diſcouraged the uſe of coffee, and has, perhaps, increaſed the conſumption of it. It is publicly offered to ſale in all the ſtreets and markets ready made, and is drunk in every family at leaſt twice a-day. In ſome, it is always ready, it being the cuſtom to offer it to all viſitors, and reckoned equally unpolite not to offer it, or to refuſe it.

At the ſame time that coffee-houſes were ſhut in Conſtantinople, they were opened in London. This novelty was introduced there in 1652 by a merchant of the name of Edward, on his return from the Levant. The Engliſh grew fond of it; and it has ſince been introduced among all the nations of Europe; but the cuſtom is purſued with more moderation, than in thoſe climates where religion prohibits the uſe of wine.

The tree that produces the coffee grows in the territory of Betelfagui, a town belonging to Yemen, ſituated upon a dry ſand, at the diſtance of ten leagues from the Red Sea. It is cultivated in a diſtrict fifty leagues long, and fifteen or twenty broad: the fruit is not every where in equal perfection. That which grows upon the higher grounds, particularly at Ouden, is ſmaller, greener, weighs heavier, and is generally preferred.

It is computed that Arabia contains twelve millions of inhabitants, among the greateſt part of whom coffee is a highly favourite liquor. None

but

but the rich citizens have the pleaſure of taſting the berry itſelf. The common people are obliged to content themſelves with the ſhell and the huſk of this valuable production. Theſe remains, ſo much deſpiſed, make a liquor of a pretty clear colour, which has the taſte of coffee without it's bitterneſs and ſtrength. Theſe articles may be had at a low price at Betelfagui, which is the general market for them. Here likewiſe is ſold all the coffee which comes out of the country by land. The reſt is carried to Mocha, which is thirty-five leagues diſtant, or to the nearer ports of Lohia or Hodeida, from whence it is tranſported in ſmall veſſels to Jodda. The Egyptians fetch it from the laſt mentioned place, and all other nations from the former.

The quantity of coffee exported may be eſtimated from twelve to thirteen millions weight. The European companies take off a million and a half; the Perſians three millions and a half; the fleet from Suez ſix millions and a half; Indoſtan, the Maldives, and the Arabian colonies on the coaſt of Africa, fifty thouſand; and the land caravans a million.

As the coffee which is bought up by the caravans and the Europeans, is the beſt that can be procured, it coſts from ſixteen to ſeventeen ſols * a pound. The Perſians, who content themſelves with that of an inferior quality, pay no more than twelve or thirteen ſols † a pound. The Egyptians purchaſe it at the rate of fifteen or ſixteen ‡; their

* About 8d. ½. † About 6d. ½. ‡ About 8d.

cargoes

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cargoes being compoſed partly of good and partly of bad coffee. If we eſtimate coffee at fourteen ſols * a pound, which is the mean price, the profits accruing to Arabia from it's annual exportation will amount to eight or nine millions of livres †. This money does not go into their coffers; but it enables them to purchaſe the commodities brought from the foreign markets to their ports of Jodda and Mocha.

Mocha receives from Abyſſinia, ſheep, elephant's teeth, muſk, and ſlaves. It is ſupplied from the eaſtern coaſt of Africa with gold, ſlaves, amber, and ivory; from the Perſian Gulph with dates, tobacco, and corn; from Surat with a vaſt quantity of coarſe, and a few fine linens; from Bombay and Pondicherry with iron, lead, copper, which are carried thither from Europe; from Malabar with rice, ginger, pepper, Indian ſaffron, with caire, timber, and cardamom; from the Maldives with gum benzoin, aloes-wood, and pepper, which theſe iſlands take in exchange; from Coromandel, with four or five hundred bales of cottons, chiefly blue. The greateſt part of theſe commodities, which may fetch ſix millions ‡, are conſumed in the interior part of the country. The reſt, particularly the cottons, are diſpoſed of in Abyſſinia, Socotora, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

None of the branches of buſineſs which are managed at Mocha, as well as throughout all the country of Yemen, or even at Sanaa, the capital,

* About 7 d. † From upwards of 300,000 l. to 375,000 l.
‡ 250,000 l.

are

are in the hands of the natives. The extortions with which they are perpetually threatened by the government, deter them from interfering in them. All the warehouſes are occupied by the Banians of Surat or Guzarat, who make a point of returning to their own country as ſoon as they have made their fortunes. They then reſign their ſettlements to merchants of their own nation, who retire in their turn, and are ſucceeded by others.

THERE is no country where the price of every thing is not know'n, except that of man. The moſt civilized nations have not yet acquired that knowlege. Witneſs that multitude of capital puniſhments inflicted in all parts for offences, even of a trivial kind. It is not probable that thoſe nations, which condemn to death a young woman of eighteen years of age, who might be the mother of five or ſix children, or a healthy and vigorous young man of thirty, for having ſtolen a little piece of ſilver, ſhould have ſufficiently meditated upon thoſe tables of the probabilities of human life which they have ſo learnedly calculated; ſince they ſeem to be ignorant how many individuals are ſacrificed by nature, before the life of one is prolonged to that period. Thus, without being conſcious of it, we repair a little injury done to ſociety, by a greater. By the ſeverity of the puniſhment, we drive the culprit on from theft to aſſaſſination. What! is the hand, then, that has burſt open the lock of your coffers, or that has even plunged a poniard into the breaſt of a citizen, fit for nothing but to be cut off? Becauſe a diſhoneſt, or an indigent debtor, cannot

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not discharge his debts, he is to be rendered totally useless to society, and reduced to the impossibility of being ever able to pay you, by being confined in a prison? Would it not be better for the public interest, and for your's, that he should make some use of his industry and his talents, provided you be impowered by the action you have legally brought against him, to follow him every where, and to seize such a portion of his profit, as shall be adjudged to you by some wise regulation? But he will quit the country! Of what consequence is it to you, whether he be in England or in prison? Will you not be equally a loser of your money? If there were mutual compacts settled between the nations, the delinquent would not find an asylum any where. If you enlarge your views a little, you will conceive that the debtor who escapes from you by flight, cannot possibly make his fortune in a foreign country, without paying a part of his debts, from the necessaries he is obliged to supply himself with, and from the reciprocal exchanges subsisting between nations. It is with the wines of France that he will intoxicate himself at London; or with the silks of Lyons that his wife will be clothed at Cadiz or Lisbon. But these speculations are too abstract and patriotic for a cruel creditor, who, tormented with the spirit of avarice and resentment, would rather keep his unfortunate debtor in chains, lying upon straw, and feed him there with bread and water, than restore him to his liberty. But these views ought not to have escaped the notice of governments and of legisla-

tors;

tors; and it is they who are to be cenſured for all the barbarous abſurdities ſtill ſubſiſting upon this matter in our nations that pretend to be civilized.

THE European companies, who enjoy the excluſive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, formerly maintained agents at Mocha. Notwithſtanding it was ſtipulated by a ſolemn capitulation, that the impoſts demanded ſhould be rated at two and a quarter per cent. they were ſubject to frequent extortions: the governor of the place inſiſting on their making him preſents, which enabled him to purchaſe the favour of the courtiers, or even of the prince himſelf. However, the profits they obtained by the ſale of European goods, particularly cloths, made them ſubmit to theſe repeated humiliations. When theſe ſeveral articles were furniſhed by Grand Cairo, it was then impoſſible to withſtand the competition, and the fixed ſettlements were therefore given up.

THE trade was carried on by ſhips, that ſailed from Europe with iron, lead, copper, and ſilver, ſufficient to pay for the coffee they intended to buy. The ſupercargoes, who had the care of theſe tranſactions, ſettled the accounts every time they returned. Theſe voyages, at firſt rather numerous and advantageous, have been ſucceſſively laid aſide. The plantations of coffee, made by the European nations in their colonies, have equally leſſened the conſumption and the price of that which comes from Arabia. In proceſs of time, theſe voyages did not yield a ſufficient profit

to

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to anſwer the high charges of undertaking them on purpoſe. The companies of England and France then reſolved, one of them to ſend ſhips from Bombay, and the other from Pondicherry to Mocha, with the merchandize of Europe and India. They even frequently had recourſe to a method that was leſs expenſive. The Engliſh and French who traffic from one part of India to another, viſit the Red Sea every year. Though they diſpoſe of their merchandize there to good advantage, they can never take in cargoes from thence for their return. They carry, for a moderate freight, the coffee belonging to the companies who lade the veſſels with it, which they diſpatch from Malabar and Coromandel to Europe. The Dutch company, who prohibit their ſervants from fitting out ſhips, and who ſend no veſſels themſelves to the Gulph of Arabia, are deprived of the ſhare they might take in this branch of commerce. They have alſo given up a much more lucrative branch, that of Jodda.

JODDA is a port ſituated near the middle of the Gulph of Arabia, twenty leagues from Mecca. It is a ſafe harbour, but the acceſs to it is difficult. The purpoſes of trade have brought nine or ten thouſand inhabitants there, who moſt of them dwell in huts, and who are all condemned to breathe an infected air, and to drink brackiſh water. The government is of a mixed kind: the Xeriff of Mecca, and the Grand Signior, who keeps a feeble and uſeleſs garriſon there, ſhare the authority and the revenue of the cuſtoms between them. Theſe impoſts are levied upon the

Europeans

Europeans at the rate of eight per cent. and upon other nations at thirteen. They are always paid in merchandize, which the managers oblige the merchants of the country to buy at a very dear rate. The Turks, who have been driven from Aden, Mocha, and every part of the Yemen, would long ago have been expelled from Jodda, if there had not been reaſon to apprehend that they might revenge themſelves in ſuch a manner as to put an end to their pilgrimages and commerce.

Surat ſends three ſhips every year to Jodda, which are laden with linens of all colours, ſhawls, cotton and ſilk ſtuffs, frequently ornamented with gold and ſilver flowers. The ſale of theſe goods produces nine or ten millions of livres *. Bengal diſpatches two, and more frequently three, ſhips for the ſame deſtination; and their cargoes, which belong to the Engliſh, may be one third leſs in value than thoſe of Surat. They conſiſt of rice, ginger, ſaffron, ſugar, a few ſilks, and a conſiderable quantity of linens, which are for the moſt part ordinary. Theſe veſſels, which may enter the Red Sea from the beginning of December till the end of May, find the fleet of Suez at Jodda.

This city, which is ſuppoſed to be built upon the ruins of the ancient Arſinoe, is ſituated at the extremity of the Red Sea, and at the diſtance only of two or three days journey from Grand Cairo. It's inhabitants are partly Egyptians and partly

* From 375,000 l. to 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

Arabs.

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Arabs. They are ſo little fond of living in the place, which is unwholeſome, and unprovided with drinkable water, that thoſe among them who enjoy an eaſy fortune, or can meet with employment any where elſe, are never there but at the times of the ſetting out and return of the ſhips, both which events are regulated by periodical and invariable winds. Twenty veſſels, reſembling in ſhape thoſe of the Dutch, but ill built, badly fitted out, and improperly commanded, are diſpatched every year to Jodda. Their cargo conſiſts chiefly of proviſions, but with this difference, that the five belonging to the Grand Signior deliver their's gratuitouſly at Medina and Mecca, while the others commonly ſell their cargoes at a very advantageous price. They carry alſo Venetian glaſs, coral, and yellow amber, of which the Indians make necklaces and bracelets.

In exchange for their proviſions, their merchandiſe, and eſpecially their gold, they receive ſix or ſeven millions weight of coffee; and in linens, ſtuffs and ſpices, to the value of ſeven or eight millions of livres*. Such is the ignorance and lazineſs of theſe navigators, that the whole of theſe rich articles never reaches the place of their deſtination. A conſiderable part of them is habitually ſwallowed up by the waves, notwithſtanding the care that is taken always to caſt anchor at the beginning of the night.

The trade of the Red Sea would become more extenſive, and leſs expoſed to riſks, if a revolu-

* From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

tion

tion which it has lately experienced ſhould be attended with the conſequences that ſeem to be expected from it.

By a treaty concluded on the 7th March 1775, between the firſt of the Beys, and Mr. Haſtings the Britiſh Governor of Bengal, the Engliſh, ſettled in India, are allowed to introduce and circulate, in the interior part of Egypt, all the merchandiſe they chooſe, on paying ſix and a half per cent. for thoſe goods that come from the Ganges and Madras, and eight per cent. for thoſe which have been laden at Bombay and Surat. This convention has already been carried into execution, and the ſucceſs has anſwered beyond expectation. If the Ottoman Court and the Arabs do not interrupt this new communication; if the port of Suez, now almoſt choaked up with the ſands, were repaired; if the ſeditions which are inceſſantly diſturbing the banks of the Nile, could at length be put a ſtop to; we might, perhaps, ſee the intercourſe between Europe and Aſia carried on wholly, or in part, through the ancient channel.

The merchandiſe brought from Surat and Bengal, which the Egyptian fleet does not take off, is partly conſumed in the country, and bought in great quantities by the caravans, which go every year to Mecca.

The Arabs had ever entertained an affection for this city. They ſuppoſed it to have been the reſidence of Abraham, and they flocked from all parts to a temple, of which they believed he was the founder. Mohammed, who was a man of too much

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much understanding to attempt to abolish a devotion so generally established, contented himself with rectifying the object of it. He banished the idols from this revered place, and dedicated it to the unity of God. Mohammed was not the messenger of heaven; but he was an acute politician, and a great conqueror. To promote the concourse of strangers to a city which he intended to make the capital of his empire, he commanded that all who embraced his law should once in their lives undertake a pilgrimage thither, on pain of dying reprobates. This precept was accompanied with another, which makes it evident, that he was not guided by superstition alone. He ordered that every pilgrim, of whatever country he was, should purchase five pieces of cotton, and get them consecrated, and made into handkerchiefs for himself, and for all the persons belonging to his family who might be prevented by reasonable impediments from undertaking this holy expedition.

This policy might naturally be expected to make Arabia the center of a prodigious trade, when the number of pilgrims should amount to several millions. This zeal is so much abated, especially on the coast of Africa, in Indostan and Persia, in proportion to the respective distances of those places from Mecca, that the number is reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand; the majority of whom are Turks. They carry away with them seven hundred and fifty thousand pieces of linen; each ten ells in length, exclusive of those which many of them buy for sale. They are encouraged in these mercantile schemes by the advantages they

they have in croſſing the deſerts, and in not being expoſed to thoſe oppreſſive tolls which are ſo deſtructive in the ſea-ports of Suez and Baſſora. The money received from theſe pilgrims and from the fleet, as well as that which the Arabs get from the ſale of their coffee, is expended in India. The veſſels from Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, annually carry away to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres *, and about the eighth part of this ſum in merchandiſe. When theſe riches are divided among the trading nations of Europe, the Engliſh contrive to appropriate to themſelves the moſt conſiderable ſhare of them. They have acquired the ſame ſuperiority in Perſia.

Revolutions which trade has experienced in the Perſian Gulph.

The Engliſh nation had ſcarce been admitted into the empire of the Sophis, when, as we have obſerved, the Dutch reſorted there in great numbers. The trade of theſe republicans was at firſt eſtabliſhed on a very diſadvantageous footing; but being, by the civil wars of England, ſoon delivered from a rival, whoſe various privileges were not to be overbalanced even by the greateſt œconomy, they were in a ſhort time without competitors, and conſequently acquired an authority to ſet what price they thought proper on the commodities they bought or ſold. The connections of the Perſians with the Dutch were formed on this deſtructive ſyſtem; when the return of the Engliſh, who were ſoon after followed by the French, gave a new turn to affairs, and put them upon a more equitable footing.

* From 583,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 625,000 l.

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At the time when the three nations exerted their utmoſt efforts to gain the ſuperiorty, and theſe efforts turned to the advantage of the empire, they were haraſſed with a thouſand oppreſſions, ſome more unjuſt and odious than others. The throne was continually filled with tyrannical or weak princes, whoſe cruelty and injuſtice weakened the correſpondence of their ſubjects with other nations. One of theſe tyrants was ſo ſavage, that a great man of his court uſed to ſay, *That whenever he came out of the king's cloſet, he clapped both his hands to his head, to feel whether it were ſtill upon his ſhoulders.* When the ſucceſſor of this tyrant was told that the fineſt provinces in the empire were invaded by the Turks, he anſwered coolly, *That their progreſs gave him very little diſturbance, provided they would leave him the city of Iſpahan.* The ſon of the latter was ſo meanly enſlaved to the moſt frivolous obſervances of his religion, that he was ſtiled, by way of deriſion, *Huſſein the monk, or prieſt:* a character leſs odious, perhaps, in a prince, but much more dangerous to his people, than that of impiety, or defiance of the gods. Under theſe deſpicable ſovereigns, mercantile affairs declined every day more and more. The Afghans deſtroyed them entirely.

These are a people of Candahar, a mountainous country, lying north of India. They have ſometimes been ſubject to the Moguls, ſometimes to the Perſians, but are more frequently independent. Thoſe that do not reſide in the capital live in tents, after the manner of the Tartars. They are of low ſtature, and ill made; but are ſtrong, robuſt,

robuſt, ſkilled in the uſe of the bow, and in horſemanſhip, and inured to fatigue. Their manner of fighting is ſingular; a choſen band of ſoldiers, divided into two parties, fall upon the enemy without any order, only endeavouring to open the way for the army that follows them. As ſoon as the battle is begun, they fall back upon the flanks and towards the rear-guard, where their buſineſs is to prevent any perſon from giving way. If any ſoldier attempts to fly, they attack him with their ſabres, and compel him to return to his poſt.

About the beginning of this century, this fierce people left their mountains, invaded Perſia, carried devaſtation every where, and at length ſubdued it, after a bloody conteſt of twenty years. Fanaticiſm ſtill perpetuates, and perhaps even expiates, the memory of the horrid outrages which they committed in the courſe of their conqueſt. For ſuch is the nature of religious enthuſiaſm, that it ſanctifies the crime it inſpires, and that this crime expiates the others we have been guilty of. The fanatic ſays to God, It is true, O Lord! that I have adminiſtered poiſon; that I have murdered, and that I have robbed; but thou wilt pardon me, for with my own hands I have exterminated fifty of thine enemies. Inflamed with zeal for the ſuperſtitions of the Turks, and with implacable hatred againſt the ſect of Ali, the Afghans maſſacre thouſands of Perſians in cold blood. In the mean time, the provinces they had not entered, were ravaged by the Ruſſians, Turks, and Tartars. Thamas Kouli Khan

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drove theſe robbers out of this country, but ſhewed himſelf ſtill more barbarous than they were. His violent death gave riſe to new calamities. Anarchy aggravates the cruelties of tyranny. One of the fineſt empires in the world is become an extenſive ſcene of deſolation, and a laſting and ſhameful monument of that deſtructive inſtinct that animates uncivilized people, while, at the ſame time, it is an inevitable conſequence of the defects of a deſpotic government.

During this general confuſion, Bender-Abaſſi, and the other bad ports of Perſia, were neglected. The little ſhare of trade that ſtill ſubſiſted, was almoſt all conveyed to Baſſora.

This is a large city, built by the Arabs in the height of their proſperity, fifteen leagues below the place where the Tigris and Euphrates meet, and at the ſame diſtance from the Perſian Gulph, into which theſe rivers empty themſelves. It's inhabitants are computed at fifty thouſand; conſiſting of Arabs, fifteen hundred Armenians, and a ſmall number of families of different nations whom the hope of gain has attracted. It's territory abounds in rice, fruits, pulſe, cotton, and particularly in dates.

The port of Baſſora, as thoſe who firſt eſtabliſhed it foreſaw, became a famous mart. The merchandiſe of Europe was brought there by the Euphrates, and that of India by ſea. The tyranny of the Portugueſe intercepted this communication. It would have been opened again when their power declined, had not this unhappy country continually been the ſcene of the diſputes

putes between the Arabs, the Perſians, and the Turks. Theſe laſt, become peaceful poſſeſſors of Baſſora, have availed themſelves of the miſfortunes of their neighbours, to bring trade back to this city; the harbour of which has recovered it's ſplendour and importance.

THIS change has not been effected without difficulty. At firſt, the people of the country would not permit the traders to come out of the river. They foreſaw, that if theſe foreigners were permitted to ſettle in the city, they would not be ſo much under their direction, and might lay up in their magazines ſuch of their commodities as they could not ſell during one monſoon, with a view of diſpoſing of them with greater advantage at another time. To this maxim, which was the reſult of an ill-judged avarice, were added others ariſing from ſuperſtitious notions. It was deemed a violation of the reſpect due to religion to permit infidels to inhabit a city, conſecrated by the blood of ſo many martyrs and ſaints of the Mohammedan perſuaſion; a prejudice that ſeemed to have ſome weight with the government; but theſe ſcruples were ſilenced. Pecuniary conſiderations were offered by the European nations, and they were allowed to eſtabliſh factories, and even to diſplay their reſpective flags upon them.

Preſent ſtate of trade in the Perſian Gulph, and of that of the Engliſh in particular.

REVOLUTIONS are ſo frequent in Aſia, that trade cannot poſſibly be carried on in the ſame continued track as it is in Europe. Theſe events, joined to the little communication between the different ſtates, either by land or by ſea, muſt naturally occaſion great variations in the quantity

and value of commodities. Baſſora, on account of it's great diſtance from the center of trade, is more expoſed to this inconvenience than any other place. However, upon an average, we need not be under any apprehenſion of departing much from the ſtricteſt truth, when we venture to eſtimate the merchandiſe annually brought there by way of the Gulph, at twelve millions *. Of this the Engliſh furniſh four millions †, the Dutch two ‡, the French, the Moors, the Indians, the Armenians and Arabs furniſh the remainder.

The cargoes of theſe nations conſiſt of rice, ſugar, plain, ſtriped and flowered muſlins from Bengal, ſpices from Ceylon and the Molucca iſlands; coarſe, white, and blue cottons from Coromandel; cardamom, pepper, ſanders-wood, from Malabar; gold and ſilver ſtuffs, turbans, ſhawls, indigo, from Surat; pearls from Baharen, and coffee from Mocha; iron, lead, and woollen cloth from Europe. Other articles of leſs conſequence are imported from different places. Some of theſe commodities are ſhipped on board ſmall Arabian veſſels, but the greater part is brought by European ſhips, which have the advantage of a conſiderable freight.

This merchandiſe is ſold for ready money; and paſſes through the hands of the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. The Banians are employed in changing the coin current at Baſſora, for that which is of higher value in India.

The different commodities collected at Baſſora are diſtributed into three channels. One half of

* 500,000l. † 166,666l. 13s. 4d. ‡ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

them

them goes to Perſia, where they are conveyed by the caravans; there being no navigable river in the whole empire. The chief conſumption is in the northern provinces, which have not been ſo much ravaged as thoſe in the ſouth. Both of them formerly made their payments in precious ſtones, which were become common by the plunder of India. They had afterwards recourſe to copper utenſils, which had been exceedingly multiplied from the great abundance of copper mines. At laſt they gave gold and ſilver in exchange, which had been concealed during a long ſcene of tyranny, and are continually digged out of the bowels of the earth. If time be not allowed for the trees that produce gum, and have been cut to puſh out freſh ſhoots; if no attention be paid to multiply the breed of goats which afford ſuch fine wool; and if the ſilks, which are hardly ſufficient to ſupply the few manufactures remaining in Perſia, continue to be ſcarce; in a word, if this empire does not riſe again from it's aſhes, the mines will be exhauſted, and this ſource of commerce muſt be given up.

The ſecond channel is a more ſure one, by the way of Bagdad, Aleppo, and other intermediate towns, whoſe merchants come to buy their goods at Baſſora. Coffee, linen, ſpices, and other merchandiſe that paſs this way, are taken in exchange for gold, French woollen-cloths, galls, and orpiment, which is an ingredient in colours, and much uſed by the eaſtern people to extirpate their hair.

Another

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ANOTHER much leſs conſiderable channel is that of Arabia Deſerta. The Arabs, bordering upon Baſſora, repair annually to Aleppo in the ſpring, to ſell camels. It is uſual to give them credit for muſlins, which they buy very cheap, to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand livres*. They return in the autumn, bringing woollen-cloths, coral, hard-ware, and ſome glaſs and mirrors from Venice. The Arabian caravans are never moleſted in their journey; nor are foreigners in any danger, if they take care to carry along with them a perſon belonging to each of the tribes they may happen to meet with. This road through the deſert would be univerſally preferred to that of Bagdad, on account of ſafety, expedition, and the advantages of ſale, if the Pacha of the province, who has eſtabliſhed tolls in different parts of his territory, did not uſe every poſſible precaution to hinder this communication. It is only by eluding the vigilance of his deputies, that one can prevail upon the Arabs to carry with them ſome goods, which will not take up much room.

BESIDE theſe exportations, there is rather a conſiderable conſumption, eſpecially of coffee, at Baſſora, and the territories belonging to it. Theſe articles are paid for in dates, pearls, roſe-water, dried fruits, and grain, when that is allowed to be diſpoſed of to foreigners.

THIS trade would be more extenſive, if it were freed from the ſhackles that confine it. But the

* 25,000 l.

activity

activity that might be expected from the natives of the country is continually damped by the oppreſſions they labour under, eſpecially at a diſtance from the center of the empire. The foreigners are no leſs oppreſſed by governors, who derive from their extortions the advantage of maintaining themſelves in their office, and frequently of ſecuring their lives. Were it poſſible in ſome meaſure to aſſuage this thirſt of gold, it would ſoon be renewed by the rivalſhip of the European nations, whoſe ſole aim is to ſupplant one another, and who, to ſucceed in this deſign, ſcruple not to employ the moſt execrable expedients. A ſtriking inſtance of this odious ſpirit of jealouſy happened in 1748.

Baron Knyphausen managed the Dutch factory at Baſſora with extraordinary ſucceſs. The Engliſh found themſelves in imminent danger of loſing the ſuperiority they had acquired at this place, as well as in moſt of the ſea-ports in India. The dread of an event which muſt wound at the ſame time their intereſts and their vanity, betrayed them into injuſtice. They excited the Turkiſh government to ſuppreſs a branch of trade that was uſeful to it, and procured an order for the confiſcation of the merchandiſe and poſſeſſions of their rivals.

The Dutch factor, who under the character of a merchant concealed the ſtateſman, inſtantly took a reſolution worthy of a man of genius. He retired with his dependents and the broken remains of his fortune to Karek, a ſmall iſland, at the diſtance of fifty leagues from the mouth of the river;

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river; where he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, that by intercepting the Arabian and Indian veſſels, bound for the city, he compelled the government to indemnify him for the loſſes he had ſuſtained by it's behaviour. The fame of his integrity and abilities drew to his iſland the privateers of the neighbouring ports, the merchants, even of Baſſora, and the Europeans who traded there. The proſperity of this new colony was daily increaſing, when it was forſaken by it's founder. The ſucceſſor of this able man did not diſplay the ſame talents. Towards the end of the year 1765 he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of his iſland by the Arabian Corſair Mirmahana. The Company loſt an important poſt, and more than two millions*, in artillery, proviſions, and merchandiſe.

By this event, Baſſora was freed from a rivalſhip that was prejudicial to it's intereſts; but an unforeſeen, and much more formidable one, has ſucceeded in it's room, which is that of Maſcate. The Perſian gulph is bordered on the weſt by the eaſtern coaſt of Arabia. The inhabitants of this region have nothing for ſubſiſtence but a few dates, and the produce of a plentiful fiſhery obtained with eaſe. Even the ſmall quantity of cattle that can be raiſed there, is fed only upon fiſh. Every little diſtrict has a ſheik of it's own, who is obliged to provide for the wants of his family by his labour or his induſtry. On the firſt ſignal of the leaſt danger, theſe people fly for refuge into the neighbouring iſlands, from whence

* 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

they

they do not return to the continent 'till the enemy is withdraw'n. There is no place in the country that was ever worth preſerving, except Maſcate. The great Albuquerque made himſelf maſter of this city in 1507, and ruined it's trade, which he intended to transfer entirely to Ormus. When the Portugueſe had loſt this ſmall kingdom, they were deſirous of bringing the trade back to this place. Their endeavours proved ineffectual; and the navigators bent their courſe to Gombroon. They dreaded the inſolence of the old tyrants of India; and were unwilling to rely upon their fidelity. No veſſels entered the harbour except thoſe brought in by the Portugueſe themſelves. It ceaſed to be frequented by the ſhips of every nation, after theſe imperious maſters were driven from it in 1648. Their pride prevailing over their views of intereſt, made them no longer deſirous of going there: and they had ſtill a ſufficient degree of influence to prevent any ſhips from entering the harbour, or going out of it.

The decline of their power tempted the inhabitants of Maſcate to the ſame acts of piracy which they themſelves had ſo long been expoſed to. They made deſcents upon the coaſts of their antient oppreſſors; and the ſucceſs they met with encouraged them to attack the ſmall Mooriſh and European veſſels that frequented the Perſian Gulph. But they were ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed for their plunders by ſeveral nations, and eſpecially by the Engliſh, that they were obliged to deſiſt. From that period, the city ſank into a ſtate of obſcurity, which was prolonged for a conſiderable time

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time by inteſtine broils, and foreign invaſions. At length, the government aſſuming a more regular form at Maſcate, and in the whole country under the juriſdiction of it's Iman, it's commerce began to revive about the year 1749.

THE articles of conſumption in the country itſelf are rice, blue linens, iron, lead, ſugar, and ſome ſpices; the returns for which are made in myrrh, incenſe, gum-arabic, and a ſmall quantity of ſilver. This trade, however, would not be conſiderable enough to invite ſhips to this place, if Maſcate, which is ſituated pretty near the entrance of the Perſian Sea, were not an excellent mart for the innermoſt part of the Gulph. All trading nations begin to give it the preference to Baſſora, becauſe it makes their voyage ſhorter by three months; they are free from any kind of extortion; and impoſts are lowered to one and a half per cent. The merchandize, indeed, is afterwards to be carried to Baſſora, where it pays a tax of three per cent.; but the Arabs ſail with ſo little expence, and have ſo many methods of eluding the tolls, that they will always find their account in diſpoſing of their goods at Maſcate. Beſide this, the dates, which are produced at Baſſora in greater plenty and perfection than any other article, and are often ſpoilt on board large veſſels that ſail ſlowly, are conveyed with the utmoſt expedition in light barks to Malabar and the Red Sea. There is a particular reaſon which will always induce the Engliſh, who trade for themſelves, to frequent Maſcate. They are there exempted from the five per cent. which they are

obliged

obliged to pay at Baſſora, as well as at all other places where their company have made ſettlements.

THE company have never attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves on the iſland of Baharen; which we are at a loſs to account for. This iſland, which lies in the Perſian gulph, has often changed it's maſters. It fell with Ormus, under the dominion of the Portugueſe, and was governed by the ſame laws. Theſe conquerors were afterwards deprived of it, and it has ſince undergone a variety of revolutions. Thamas Kouli Khan reſtored it to Perſia, to which it had belonged. This haughty uſurper at that time conceived the plan of forming a moſt immenſe empire. He wiſhed to extend it over two ſeas, ſome coaſts of which he already poſſeſſed: but finding that his ſubjects oppoſed his deſign inſtead of favouring it, he had recourſe to one of thoſe arbitrary acts which tyrants make no ſcruple of exerciſing, and tranſported his ſubjects in the Perſian Gulph to the Caſpian Sea, and thoſe in the Caſpian Sea to the Perſian Gulph. This double tranſmigration appeared to him calculated to break the connections which both theſe people had formed with his enemies, and of ſecuring their fidelity, if he could not engage their attachment. His death put a period to his vaſt deſigns; and the confuſion into which his empire was throw'n, afforded a fair opportunity to an ambitious and enterpriſing Arab, of taking poſſeſſion of Baharen, where he ſtill maintains his authority.

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THIS iſland, famous for it's pearl fiſhery, even at the time when pearls were found at Ormus, Karek, Keſhy, and other places in the Gulph, is now become of much greater conſequence, ſince the other banks have been exhauſted, while this has ſuffered no ſenſible diminution. The fiſhery begins in April, and ends in October. It is confined to a tract of four or five leagues. The Arabs, who alone follow this employment, paſs their nights upon the iſland or the coaſt, unleſs they are prevented by the wind from going on ſhore. They formerly paid a toll, which was received by the galliots on that ſtation. Since the laſt alteration, none but the inhabitants of this iſland pay this acknowlegment to their Sheik, who is not in a condition to demand them from others.

THE pearls taken at Baharen, though not ſo white as thoſe of Ceylon and Japan, are much larger than thoſe of the former place, and of a more regular ſhape than thoſe of the latter. They are of a yellowiſh caſt; but have this recommendation, that they preſerve their golden hue; whereas the whiter kind loſe much of their luſtre by keeping, particularly in hot countries. The ſhell of both theſe ſpecies, which is know'n by the name of mother of pearl, is uſed in Aſia for various purpoſes.

THE annual revenue ariſing from the fiſhery in the latitude of Baharen, is computed at 3,600,000 livres*. The greateſt part of the pearls that are

* 150,000l.

uneven,

uneven, are carried to Conſtantinople, and other ports of Turkey; where the larger compoſe part of the ornaments of the head-dreſs, and the ſmaller are uſed in works of embroidery. The perfect pearls muſt be reſerved for Surat, from whence they are diſtributed throughout all Indoſtan. The women have ſo ſtrong a paſſion for luxury, and the ſale of this article is ſo much increaſed by ſuperſtition, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any diminution either in the price or the demand. There are none of the Gentiles who do not make it a point of religion to bore at leaſt one pearl at the time of their marriage. Whatever may be the myſterious meaning of this cuſtom among a people whoſe morality and politics are couched in allegories, or where allegory becomes religion; this emblem of virgin modeſty has proved advantageous to the pearl trade. The pearls that have not newly been bored make a part of dreſs; but cannot have a place in the marriage ceremony, where one new pearl is at leaſt indiſpenſable. They are accordingly always ſold five and twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than thoſe which come from the Gulph, where they are taken. There are no pearls at Malabar; but it has riches of another kind.

Deſcription of the coaſt of Malabar. Sketch of the ſtates that compoſe it.

MALABAR is, properly ſpeaking, a country ſituated between Cape Comorin and the river of Neticeram. But to make our narrative the better underſtood, by accommodating it to the notions generally received in Europe, we ſhall give this name to the whole track extending from the

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Indus to Cape Comorin, including the adjacent iſlands, and beginning with the Maldives.

THE Maldives form a long chain of iſlands to the weſt of Cape Comorin, which is the neareſt part of the continent. They are divided into thirteen provinces, which are called Atollons. This diviſion is the work of nature, that has ſurrounded each atollon with a barrier of rocks, furniſhing a better defence than the ſtrongeſt fortification againſt the impetuoſity of the waves, or the attacks of an enemy. The natives reckon the number of theſe iſlands at twelve thouſand; the ſmalleſt of which are nothing more than banks of ſand that are overflowed at high tides, and the largeſt very ſmall in circumference. Of all the channels that ſeparate them, there are only four capable of receiving ſhips. The reſt are ſo ſhallow, that they have ſeldom more than three feet water. It is conjectured, with probability, that all theſe different iſlands were formerly one, and that the force of the waves and currents, or ſome great natural event, has divided them into ſeveral portions.

IT is probable, that this Archipelago was originally peopled from Malabar. Afterwards, the Arabians went there, uſurped the ſovereignty, and eſtabliſhed their own religion. At length, the two nations were united into one; when the Portugueſe, ſoon after their arrival in India, reduced them to ſubjection. This tyranny was of ſhort continuance. The garriſon, which held them in ſlavery, was exterminated, and the Maldives

dives recovered their independence. Since this period, they have fallen under the yoke of an arbitrary prince, who keeps his court at Male, and has reſigned the whole authority to the prieſts. He is the ſole merchant in his dominions.

An adminiſtration of this ſtamp, and the barrenneſs of the country, which produces nothing but cocoa-trees, prevents the trade from being conſiderable. The exports conſiſt only of cowries, fiſh, and kayar.

Kayar is the bark of the cocoa-tree, of which cables are made, that ſerve for the Indian navigation. This is no where ſo good, and in ſuch plenty as in the Maldives. A great quantity of it is carried, with ſome cowries, to Ceylon, where theſe commodities are exchanged for the areca nut.

The fiſh called in the country complemaſſe, is dried in the ſun. It is ſalted by dipping it ſeveral times in ſea-water, and cut into pieces of the thickneſs and length of a man's finger. Two cargoes of it are annually brought to Achen, which are purchaſed with gold and benzoin. The gold remains in the Maldives; and the benzoin is ſent to Mocha, where it procures in return about three hundred bales of coffee for the conſumption of theſe iſlands.

Cowries are white and ſhining ſhells. The inhabitants fiſh for them twice a month; three days before the new moon, and three days after. This employment belongs to the women, who wade to the middle in water to gather them upon the ſands. They are put up in parcels, each con-

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taining twelve thouſand. Thoſe that are not circulated in the country, or carried to Ceylon, are ſent to the banks of the Ganges. A great number of veſſels annually ſail from this river, laden with ſugar, rice, linen, and other leſs conſiderable articles for the uſe of the Maldives, and return with cargoes of cowries, valued at about ſeven or eight hundred thouſand livres *. One part is circulated in Bengal, where it ſerves as ſmall coin. The reſt is taken off by the Europeans, who uſe it with advantage in their trade with Africa. They buy it at ſix ſols† a pound, and ſell it from twelve to eighteen‡ in their ſeveral capitals: it is worth thirty-five livres§ in Guinea.

The kingdom of Travancor, which extends from Cape Comorin to the frontiers of Cochin, was not formerly in poſſeſſion of a greater ſhare of opulence than the Maldives. It is probable that it owed the preſervation of it's independency to it's poverty, when the Moguls made themſelves maſters of Madura. One of their monarchs, who aſcended the throne about the year 1730, and who reigned near forty years, added more dignity to his crown than it had ever had before. He was a man of exquiſite and deep ſenſe. He was giving audience to two ambaſſadors that had been ſent him by a neighbouring ſtate, one of whom began a long harangue, which the other was preparing to continue: *be not tedious*, ſaid the prince, with an auſtere brow, *life is ſhort*. His reign was ſul-

* From 29,166l. 13s. 4d. to 33,333l. 6s. 8d.
† About 3d. ‡ Near 8d. on an average. § 1l. 9s. 2d.

lied

lied only by one act of weakneſs: he was of the tribe of the Naïrs, and thought it a diſgrace to him that he did not belong to the ſuperior caſt. In the view of being incorporated into it, as much as it was poſſible, in the year 1752, he cauſed a golden calf to be caſt, which he entered into by the muzzle, and came out at the oppoſite part. Since that time, his edicts were all dated from the day of ſo glorious a regeneration; and, to the great ſcandal of all Indoſtan, he was acknowleged for a Bramin, by all thoſe of his ſubjects who enjoyed this important prerogative.

With the aſſiſtance of a Frenchman named Le Noye, this monarch had formed the beſt diſciplined army that had ever been ſeen in theſe countries. With theſe forces, it is ſaid, that he meditated the conqueſt of all the Malabar; and perhaps his ambition might have been crowned with ſucceſs, had it not been oppoſed by the European nations. Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, he ſucceeded in enlarging his dominions; and, what was infinitely more difficult, in rendering his uſurpations uſeful to his ſubjects. In the midſt of the tumult of arms, agriculture was encouraged; and ſome coarſe manufactures of cotton were ſet on foot.

There are two European ſettlements in the kingdom of Travancor: that of the Danes at Kolechey has ſcarce any trade. It is very ſeldom, indeed, that the ſmalleſt purchaſe or ſale is ever made there by the people of that nation.

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THE Engliſh factory of Anjengo is ſituated on a point of land at the mouth of a ſmall river, which, during the greateſt part of the year, is choked up with ſand. The town is well peopled, and full of manufactures. It was formerly defended by four ſmall baſtions without a ditch, and by a garriſon of one hundred and fifty men. This expence has been thought unneceſſary. A ſingle agent now takes care of all the buſineſs, with leſs parade and more advantage.

TERRITORY of Anjengo, thou art nothing; but thou haſt given birth to Eliza. A day will come, when theſe ſtaples of commerce, founded by the Europeans on the coaſts of Aſia, will exiſt no more. Before a few centuries are elapſed, the graſs will cover them, or the Indians, avenged, will have built upon their ruins. But if my works be deſtined to have any duration, the name of Anjengo will not be obliterated from the memory of man. Thoſe who ſhall read my works, or thoſe whom the winds ſhall drive towards theſe ſhores, will ſay: there it is that Eliza Draper was born; and if there be a Briton among them, he will immediately add, with the ſpirit of conſcious pride, and there it was that ſhe was born of Engliſh parents.

LET me be permitted to indulge my grief, and to give a free courſe to my tears! Eliza was my friend. Reader, whoſoe'er thou art, forgive me this involuntary emotion. Let my mind dwell upon Eliza. If I have ſometimes moved thee to compaſſionate the calamities of the human race,

let me now prevail upon thee to commiſerate my own misfortune. I was thy friend without knowing thee; be for a moment mine. Thy gentle pity ſhall be my reward.

ELIZA ended her days in the land of her forefathers, at the age of three and thirty. A celeſtial ſoul was ſeparated from a heavenly body. Ye who viſit the ſpot on which her ſacred aſhes reſt, write upon the marble that covers them: in ſuch a year, in ſuch a month, on ſuch a day, at ſuch an hour, God withdrew his ſpirit, and Eliza died.

AND thou, original writer, her admirer and her friend, it was Eliza who inſpired thy works, and dictated to thee the moſt affecting pages of them. Fortunate Sterne, thou art no more, and I am left behind. I wept over thee with Eliza; thou wouldſt weep over her with me; and had it been the will of Heaven, that you had both ſurvived me, your tears would have fallen together upon my grave.

THE men were uſed to ſay, that no woman had ſo many graces as Eliza: the women ſaid ſo too. They all praiſed her candour; they all extolled her ſenſibility; they were all ambitious of the honour of her acquaintance. The ſtings of envy were never pointed againſt unconſcious merit.

ANJENGO, it is to the influence of thy happy climate that ſhe certainly was indebted for that almoſt incompatible harmony of voluptuouſneſs and decency, which diffuſed itſelf over all her perſon, and accompanied all her motions. A ſtatuary who would have wiſhed to repreſent Voluptuouſneſs, would have taken her for his model;

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and ſhe would equally have ſerved for him who might have had a figure of modeſty to diſplay. Even the gloomy and clouded ſky of England, had not been able to obſcure the brightneſs of that aërial kind of ſoul, unknow'n in our climates. In every thing that Eliza did, an irreſiſtible charm was diffuſed around her. Deſire, but of a timid and baſhful caſt, followed her ſteps in ſilence. Any man of courteouſneſs alone, muſt have loved her, but would not have dared to own his paſſion.

I SEARCH for Eliza every where: I diſcover, I diſcern ſome of her features, ſome of her charms, ſcattered among thoſe women whoſe figure is moſt intereſting. But what is become of her who united them all? Nature, who haſt exhauſted thy gifts to form an Eliza, didſt thou create her only for one moment? Didſt thou make her to be admired for one inſtant, and to be for ever regretted?

ALL who have ſeen Eliza, regret her. As for myſelf, my tears will never ceaſe to flow for her all the time I have to live. But is this ſufficient? Thoſe who have know'n her tenderneſs for me, the confidence ſhe had beſtowed upon me, will they not ſay to me: ſhe is no more, and yet thou liveſt.

ELIZA intended to quit her country, her relations, her friends, to take up her reſidence along with me, and ſpend her days in the midſt of mine. What happineſs had I not promiſed to myſelf? What joy did I not expect, from ſeeing her ſought after by men of genius; and beloved by women of the niceſt

niceſt taſte? I ſaid to myſelf, Eliza is young, and thou art near thy latter end. It is ſhe who will cloſe thine eyes. Vain hope! Fatal reverſe of all human probabilities! My old age has been prolonged beyond the days of her youth. There is now no perſon in the world exiſting for me. Fate has condemned me to live, and die alone.

ELIZA's mind was cultivated, but the effects of this art were never perceived. It had done nothing more than embelliſh nature; it ſerved in her only to make the charm more laſting. Every inſtant increaſed the delight ſhe inſpired; every inſtant rendered her more intereſting. Such is the impreſſion ſhe had left in India; ſuch is the impreſſion ſhe made in Europe. Eliza then was very beautiful? No, ſhe was ſimply beautiful: but there was no beauty ſhe did not eclipſe, becauſe ſhe was the only one that was like herſelf.

ELIZA has written; and the men of her nation, whoſe works have been the moſt abounding in elegance and taſte, would not have diſavowed the ſmall number of pages ſhe has left behind her.

WHEN I ſaw Eliza, I experienced a ſenſation unknow'n to me. It was too warm to be no more than friendſhip; it was too pure to be love. Had it been a paſſion, Eliza would have pitied me; ſhe would have endeavoured to bring me back to my reaſon, and I ſhould have completely loſt it.

ELIZA uſed frequently to ſay, that ſhe had a greater eſteem for me than for any one elſe. At preſent I may believe it.

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In her laſt moments, Eliza's thoughts were fixed upon her friend; and I cannot write a line without having before me the monument ſhe has left me. Oh! that ſhe could alſo have endowed my pen with her graces and her virtue? Methinks, at leaſt, I hear her ſay, "That ſtern muſe that "looks at you, is Hiſtory, whoſe awful duty it "is to determine the opinion of poſterity. That "fickle deity that hovers o'er the globe, is Fame, "who condeſcended to entertain us a moment "about you; ſhe brought me thy works, and "paved the way for our connection by eſteem. "Behold that phœnix immortal amidſt the "flames: it is the ſymbol of Genius, which "never dies. Let theſe emblems perpetually "incite thee to ſhew thyſelf the defender of "HUMANITY, of TRUTH, and of LIBERTY."

Eliza, from the higheſt Heaven, thy firſt, and laſt country, receive my oath: I SWEAR NOT TO WRITE ONE LINE IN WHICH THY FRIEND MAY NOT BE RECOGNISED.

Cochin was a place of great note when the Portugueſe arrived in India. They made themſelves maſters of it, and were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the Dutch. The ſovereign, at the time this place was taken from him, had preſerved his dominions, which, in the ſpace of five and twenty years, have been repeatedly invaded by the people of Travancor. His misfortunes have obliged him to take refuge under the walls of his ancient capital, where he lives upon a revenue of 14,400 livres*,

* 600l.

which

which was ſtipulated to be paid him by ancient capitulations, out of the produce of his cuſtoms. In the ſame ſuburb is a colony of induſtrious Jews, who are white men, and ridiculouſly pretend to have been ſettled here ſince the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, but have certainly been in this ſituation a very conſiderable time. A town encompaſſed with fertile lands, and built upon a river that receives veſſels of five hundred tons burthen, and communicates by ſeveral navigable branches to the interior parts of the country, may naturally be expected to be in a flouriſhing condition. If it be otherwiſe, it is entirely owen to the oppreſſive nature of the government.

This oppreſſive ſpirit is at leaſt as ſenſibly felt at Calicut: all nations are admitted thither, but none have any ſway. The ſovereign who rules there at preſent is a Bramin; and the people are conſequently under a theocracy, which, in proceſs of time, becomes the worſt of all governments, becauſe the hand of the gods adds to the weight of the ſceptre of the tyrants, and the ſanctity of one of the authorities, occaſions a blind ſubmiſſion, and under pain of ſacrilege to the caprices of the other. The orders of the deſpot are changed into oracles, and the diſobedience of the ſubjects incurs the ſtigma of a revolt againſt Heaven. The throne of Calicut is almoſt the only one in India that is filled by a perſon of this firſt of the caſts. In other places, the crown is worn by inferior tribes, and even by perſons of ſo obſcure a caſt, that their domeſtics would be diſhonoured and baniſhed from their tribes,

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tribes, if they condeſcended even to eat with their monarchs. Theſe people take care not to boaſt of having ſupped with the king: this prejudice is not, perhaps, more ridiculous than any other. It humbles the pride of princes, and deprives courtiers of one ſource of vanity. Such is the influence of ſuperſtition, that it gives riſe to the univerſal prevalence of opinion. By ſuperſtition artifice divides the empire with power: when the latter has conquered and enſlaved the world, the former interpoſes and preſcribes laws in it's turn: they enter into a league with each other; mankind fall proſtrate, and ſubmit to their chains. If it ſhould happen that theſe two powers, being diſſatisfied, ſhould riſe up the one againſt the other, then it is that the blood of the citizens is ſeen ſtreaming in the ſtreets. One party ranges itſelf under the ſtandard of ſuperſtition, the other under the banners of the ſovereign. Fathers murder their children; and children plunge, without heſitation, the poniard in the breaſt of their fathers. Every idea of juſtice is at an end; every ſentiment of humanity is annihilated; man ſeems metamorphoſed, at once, into a wild beaſt. The cry on one ſide is, Rebels, obey your monarch; on the other, Sacrilegious, impious men, obey your God, the maſter of your king, or die. I ſhall addreſs myſelf, then, to all the ſovereigns of the earth, and I ſhall venture to reveal to them the ſecret thought of the prieſthood. If the prieſt were to explain himſelf frankly, he would ſay, If the ſovereign be not my lictor he is mine enemy; I have put the axe into his hand,

but

but on condition that I ſhall point out to him the heads that are to be ſtruck off. The Bramins, the depoſitaries of religion and the ſciences throughout Indoſtan, are employed as miniſters in moſt of the ſtates, and diſpoſe of every thing at pleaſure; but affairs are not the better managed on that account.

The adminiſtration of Calicut is bad in general, and that of the capital ſtill worſe. No police is eſtabliſhed, no fortifications are raiſed. The trade, which is clogged with a multiplicity of impoſts, is almoſt entirely in the hands of a few of the moſt abandoned and faithleſs Moors in Aſia. One of it's greateſt advantages is, that by the river Baypore, which is only at two leagues diſtance, it has the means of being furniſhed with teak timber, which grows upon the plains and mountains in great abundance.

The territories that border upon Calicut, and belong to the houſe of Colaſtry, are little know'n, except by the French colony at Mahé, which is riſing up again from it's aſhes, and that of the Engliſh at Tellecherry, which has experienced no misfortune. The latter, which contains a population of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand ſouls, had three hundred white men and five hundred blacks for it's defence; they have been recalled ſince the nation has acquired in theſe ſeas an aſcendant, which removes the apprehenſion of ſeeing the ſettlement inſulted. At preſent they draw from thence annually (with very little expence) fifteen hundred thouſand pounds weight of pepper, and ſome other proviſions of little importance.

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If we except a few principalities that ſcarce deſerve mention, the ſtates we have been deſcribing properly conſtitute the whole of the Malabar, a country more agreeable than opulent. The exports conſiſt chiefly of aromatics and ſpices. The principal articles are ſanders wood, India ſaffron, cardamom, ginger, baſtard cinnamon, and pepper.

The ſantalum or ſanders grows to the ſize of a walnut-tree. It's leaves are entire oval, and placed oppoſite to each other. It's flower is of one ſingle piece, charged with eight ſtamina, and ſupported upon the piſtil, which becomes an inſipid berry, reſembling in form that of the laurel. It's wood is white in the circumference, and yellow in the center when the tree is old. This difference of colour conſtitutes two kinds of ſanders, both employed for the ſame purpoſes, and having equally a bitter taſte, and an aromatic ſmell. With the powder of this wood a paſte is prepared, with which the Chineſe, Indians, Perſians, Arabians and Turks anoint their bodies. It is likewiſe burnt in their houſes, and yields a fragrant and wholeſome ſmell. The greateſt quantity of this wood, to which a ſharp and attenuating virtue is aſcribed, remains in India. The red ſanders, though in leſs eſtimation, and leſs generally uſed, is ſent by preference into Europe. This is the produce of a different tree, which is common on the coaſt of Coromandel. Some travellers confound it with the wood of Caliatour, which is uſed in dying.

THE Indian ſaffron, called by the phyſicians *curcuma*, or *terra merita*, has a very low and herbaceous ſtem, formed by the union of the buds, and compoſed of five or ſix very long leaves, which bear upon very long ſtalks. The flowers, diſpoſed in a huſky ſpike near the root, are purpleiſh, with ſix unequal diviſions; they have but one ſtamina, ſupported, as they are, upon the piſtil, which becomes a capſula with three diviſions, full of round ſeeds. The root is compoſed of five or ſix oblong and knotty tubercles. It is reckoned to have an aperient quality, and to be a remedy for the jaundice. The Indians make a yellow dye of it, and it is an ingredient in moſt of their diſhes.

SEVERAL kinds of cardamom are found in the different countries of India, and the diſtinct characters of them have not been ſufficiently obſerved. That which grows in the territories of Cochin, Calicut, and Cananor, is the ſmalleſt and moſt eſteemed. It has, as well as the other ſorts, a great deal of analogy with the Indian ſaffron, from which it differs in having it's leaves much more numerous; it's ſtem higher; it's ſpike of flowers looſer, and coming immediately from the root, and it's fruit leſs. It's ſeeds, which have an agreeable aromatic flavour, are uſed in moſt Indian ragouts. It is often mixed with areca and betel, and ſometimes chewed afterwards; and is uſed in medicine chiefly to help digeſtion, and to ſtrengthen the ſtomach. The cardamom has no need of cultivation, and grows naturally in places

covered

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covered with the aſhes of plants that have been burnt.

THE ginger reſembles the cardamom, both in the diſpoſition and ſtructure of it's flowers. The ſpike comes from the ſame point. The root, which is knotty and creeping, ſhoots out ſeveral ſtems of three feet high, the leaves of which are narrower. It is white, tender, and almoſt as pungent to the palate as pepper. The Indians put it into their rice, which is their common diet, to correct the natural inſipidity of this food. This ſpice, mixed with others, gives the diſhes ſeaſoned with it a ſtrong taſte, which is extremely diſagreeable to foreigners. The Europeans, however, who come to Aſia in low circumſtances are obliged to accuſtom themſelves to it. Others adopt it out of complaiſance to their wives, who are generally natives of the country. It is here, as in all other places, much eaſier for the men to conform to the taſte and foibles of the women, than to get the better of them. Perhaps too the climate may require this manner of living. The beſt ginger is that which is cultivated in the Malabar; the ſecond ſort comes from Bengal. That which grows in the Decan, and in all the Indian Archipelago, is leſs eſteemed; if, however, we except the red ginger of the Moluccas, a ſpecies differing from the common ſort in the colour of it's root, and in having a leſs acid taſte.

BASTARD cinnamon, know'n in Europe by the name of *caſſia lignea*, is to be had at Timor, Java, and Mindanao; but that which grows on

the Malabar coaſt is much ſuperior. The tree which produces it, like that of Ceylon, is a ſpecies of laurel; it yields the ſame produce, and reſembles it in moſt of it's characters. It's leaves are longer; it's bark, more thick and red; it has leſs flavour, and is diſtinguiſhed particularly by a kind of viſcidity that is perceived in chewing. By theſe marks we may detect the fraud of the merchants, who ſell it mixed with the true cinnamon, the virtues of which are infinitely ſuperior, and the price four times as much. The Dutch, deſpairing of being able to root up all the trees out of the foreſts that produce it, contrived to require, during their ſuperiority in Malabar, the ſovereigns of the country to renounce their right of barking them. This engagement, which was never ſtrictly obſerved, has been leſs fulfilled ſince the nation that made it has loſt it's authority, and has advanced the price of the cinnamon of Ceylon. The preſent produce of the cinnamon at Malabar may be computed at two hundred thouſand weight. The ſmalleſt portion of it is brought to Europe; the reſt is diſpoſed of in India. The trade is entirely in the hands of the free Engliſh merchants; it may admit of improvement, but will never be equal to that of pepper.

The pepper-plant is a ſhrub, the root of which is fibrous and blackiſh. It's ſtem, which is ſarmentous and flexible, requires a tree or a prop to ſupport it. It is branchy, and full of knots, from each of which an oval leaf goes off, ſharp pointed, very ſmooth, and marked with five nerves; and it is of a ſtrong and poignant flavour. Towards

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the middle of the branches, and more frequently at their extremities, we ſee little buds reſembling thoſe of the currant-tree, which bear about thirty flowers, compoſed of two ſtamina and one piſtil. The fruit that ſucceeds is at firſt green, then red, and of the bigneſs of a pea. It is uſually gathered in October, four months after the flowering ſeaſon, and it is expoſed to the ſun for ſeven or eight days. The black colour it then acquires has given it the name of black pepper. It is made white by ſtripping it of it's outward ſkin. The largeſt, heavieſt, and leaſt ſhrivelled, is the beſt.

The pepper-plant flouriſhes in the iſlands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and more particularly on the Malabar coaſt. It is not ſow'n, but planted; and great nicety is required in the choice of the ſhoots. It produces no fruit till the end of three years; but bears ſo plentifully the three ſucceeding years, that ſome plants yield between ſix and ſeven pounds of pepper. The produce, from that period, continues decreaſing; and the ſhrub declines ſo faſt, that in twelve years time it ceaſes bearing.

The culture of pepper is not difficult; it is ſufficient to plant it in a rich ſoil, and carefully to pull up the weeds that grow in great abundance round it's roots, eſpecially the three firſt years. As the ſun is highly neceſſary to the growth of the pepper-plant, when it is ready to bear, the trees that ſupport it muſt be lopped, to prevent their ſhade from injuring the fruit. When the ſeaſon is over, it is proper to crop the head of the plant.

Without

Without this precaution there would be too much wood, and little fruit.

THE pepper exported from Malabar, which was formerly entirely in the hands of the Portugueſe, and is at preſent divided between the Dutch, Engliſh, and French, amounts to about ten millions weight. At ten ſols a pound * it is an object of five millions †: it is exported, with other productions, for half that ſum. By the ſale of theſe commodities the country is enabled to purchaſe rice from the Ganges and Canara, coarſe linens from Myſore and Bengal, and ſeveral ſorts of goods from Europe. The payments in money amount to little or nothing.

CANARA, a country bordering upon Malabar, properly ſo called, has been ſucceſsfully increaſed by the provinces of Onor, Baticala, Bandel, and Cananor, by which it has acquired a conſiderable degree of extent. It is very fertile, and particularly in rice. It was formerly the moſt flouriſhing ſtate in theſe regions; but it declined when it's ſovereign was compelled to give annually from twelve to thirteen hundred thouſand livres ‡ to the Marattas, his neighbours, to preſerve his kingdom from their plunders. It has ſtill continued declining ſince Hyder Ally Khan became the maſter of it. Mangalore, which, ſerved for it's harbour, has fallen into proportional decay. It has been leſs frequented by foreign navigators, becauſe proviſions were no longer ſo plentiful there, and becauſe the multiplicity of

* 5d. † 208,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. ‡ From 50,000 l. to 54,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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taxes has increaſed the price of them exceſſively. Nevertheleſs the manners of the place have remained as corrupt as they have been from time immemorial. Canara is always able to ſupply the moſt voluptuous courteſans, and the fineſt dancers in Indoſtan.

Preſent ſtate of Goa.

COMMERCE, that raiſed Venice from her canals, and Amſterdam from her moraſſes, had rendered Goa the center of the riches of India, and one of the moſt celebrated marts of the univerſe. Time; the revolutions ſo common in Aſia; the pride inſeparable from great proſperity; the effeminacy that attends on wealth eaſily acquired; the competition of more enlightened nations; the embezzlements of the treaſury, and thoſe of individuals; perfidious and atrocious acts of all kinds: theſe cauſes, and others, perhaps, which have eſcaped our notice, have haſtened the deſtruction of this proud city. It is now reduced to nothing; and the defects of it's adminiſtration, the corruption of it's citizens, the influence of it's monks in public deliberations, do not give any hopes of it's re-eſtabliſhment. Deprived of ſo many fertile provinces, which implicitly obeyed it's laws, it has nothing remaining but the ſmall iſland on which it is ſituated, and the two peninſulas that form it's harbour.

Account of the pirates of Angria.

To the north of Goa, the Marattas, maſters of ſome poſts on the ſea ſhore, infeſted this ocean with their piracies. The Mogul, who had juſt ſubdued the northern parts of the coaſt, was highly incenſed at them. In order to protect the navigation of his ſubjects, he equipped a fleet, principally

principally deſtined to repreſs this ſpirit of rapine. At this period the two powers attacked each other. In theſe repeated and bloody engagements, the Maratta Konna Ji Angria, diſplayed ſuch diſtinguiſhed talents, that the direction of the maritime forces of his nation was conferred upon him; and ſoon after, the government of the important fortreſs of Severn-droog, built upon a ſmall iſland, at a little diſtance from the continent.

This extraordinary man had conquered only for himſelf. He prevailed upon the companions of his victories, to adopt his plan of independence; and, with their aſſiſtance, he ſeized upon the ſhips which he had ſo long and ſo fortunately commanded. The efforts made to reduce him to obedience again were ineffectual. The allurement of plunder, and the fame of his generoſity, drew even ſo great a number of intrepid adventurers about him, that it was eaſy for him to become a conqueror. His dominion extended forty leagues along the coaſt, from Tamana to Rajapour; and twenty or thirty miles within land, according to the diſpoſition of the places, and the facility of their being defended. Nevertheleſs he owed his greateſt ſucceſs, and all his reputation, to naval operations, which were continued with the ſame activity, the ſame bravery, and the ſame ſkill, by the heirs of his name and of his dominions.

At firſt, theſe pirates only attacked the Indian, Mooriſh, or Arabian veſſels, that had not purchaſed paſſports from them. In proceſs of time,

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they inſulted the flag of the Europeans, who were reduced to the neceſſity of never ſailing without a convoy. This precaution was not only very expenſive, but proved alſo inſufficient: even the ſhips that compoſed the eſcort were often attacked, and ſeveral times carried off from their anchors.

THESE depredations had laſted fifty years, when, in 1722, the Engliſh joined their forces with thoſe of the Portugueſe againſt theſe pirates; and it was determined between them to deſtroy the place of their reſort. The expedition was diſgraceful and abortive. That which was undertaken by the Dutch, two years after, with ſeven men of war and two bomb ketches, met with no better ſucceſs. At length the Marattas, upon the people of Angria refuſing to pay a tribute which had long been cuſtomary, agreed to attack the common enemy by land, while the Engliſh attacked them by ſea. This confederacy obtained a complete conqueſt. Moſt of the harbours and forts were taken in the campaign of 1755. Geriah, the capital, ſurrendered the year following, and with it fell a power, the proſperity of which had been only founded on public calamities. By it's ruin, the power of the Marattas, which was formidable already, was unhappily increaſed.

Preſent ſtate of the Marattas on the coaſt of Malabar.

THESE people, who had been long confined within the limits of their mountains, have, by degrees, extended themſelves towards the ſea, and at preſent poſſeſs the large ſpace between Surat and Goa, where they equally threaten theſe two cities. They are famous for their incurſions and depredations on the coaſt of Coromandel, in the neigbour-

neighbourhood of Delhi, and on the banks of the Ganges; but the center of their greateſt ſtrength, and their fixed ſtation, is at Malabar. That ſpirit of rapine, which they carry into the countries where they occaſionally make inroads, is forſaken in the provinces they have conquered. They have already alleviated the miſery of thoſe places which were oppreſſed for ſo long a time by the tyranny of the Portugueſe, and with which they have ſucceſſively enlarged their empire. Their conduct has been very different upon the neighbouring ſeas. They not only plunder all the ſhips there, which are too weak to reſiſt them, but alſo give an aſylum to foreign pirates, who will conſent to ſhare their captures with them.

Revolutions that have happened to Surat. Conſequence of the influence which the Engliſh have acquired there.

SURAT was, for a long time, the only ſea-port for the exportation of the manufactures of the Mogul empire, and the importation of whatever was neceſſary to ſupply it's conſumption. To ſecure it's allegiance, and provide for it's defence, a citadel was built, the commandant of which had no authority over that of the town; care was even taken to chuſe two governors, who, from their character, were not likely to unite in oppreſſing trade. Some diſagreeable circumſtances gave riſe to a third power. The Indian ſeas were infeſted with pirates, who interrupted the navigation, and prevented devout Muſſulmen from making voyages to Mecca. The emperor thought the chief of a colony of Coffrees, who were ſettled at Rajapour, would be the proper perſon to ſtop the progreſs of theſe depredations, and therefore appointed him his admiral. Three lacks of rupees, or 720,000

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livres*, were aſſigned him for his annual pay. This ſalary not being punctually paid, the admiral ſeized the caſtle, and from that fortreſs laid the town under contribution. A ſcene of general confuſion enſued; and the avarice of the Marattas, which was always active, became more eager than ever. Theſe Barbarians, who had extended their uſurpations even to the gates of the place, had, for a long time, been allowed a third part of the duties, on condition that they ſhould not moleſt the inland trade. They contented themſelves with this contribution, ſo long as fortune did not throw more conſiderable advantages in their way. As ſoon as they perceived this ferment among the citizens, not doubting that one of the parties might be tranſported ſo far by reſentment as to open the gates to them, they drew their forces near to the walls. The traders finding their effects daily in danger of being plundered, called the Engliſh to their aſſiſtance in 1759, and aided them in taking the citadel. The court of Delhi confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of it, and in the exerciſe of the naval command, together with the appointments annexed to both commiſſions. This revolution reſtored ſome degree of tranquillity to Surat and it's Nabob; while it made them, however, totally dependent upon the power they had called in to their aſſiſtance.

THIS ſucceſs enlarged the ambitious views of the agents of the Engliſh Company. Thoſe among them who conducted the affairs on the

* 30,000l.

Malabar coaſt, were troubled with ſecret diſcontent, at not having had any ſhare in the immenſe fortunes that had been made on the Coromandel coaſt, and in Bengal. They turned their avaricious views on all ſides, and at length, in 1771, fixed them upon Baroche, a large town, ſituated at the diſtance of five and thirty miles from the mouth of the river Nerdaba, which falls into the gulph of Cambaia, and very anciently celebrated for the richneſs of it's ſoil, and the abundance of it's manufactures. Even the trading ſhips cannot get up to it without the aſſiſtance of the tide, nor come out but when the tide ebbs.

Five hundred white men, and a thouſand blacks, ſet out from Bombay, to take poſſeſſion of the place, upon the moſt frivolous pretences. The expedition failed, from the incapacity of the perſon who was intruſted with the conduct of it. It was reſumed the next year. The beſieged, emboldened by their firſt ſucceſs, and ſtill more, perhaps, by an antient tradition, which promiſed them that their town would never be taken, defended themſelves for a conſiderable time; but at length their walls were carried by an aſſault.

During the whole ſiege, the mother of the Nabob had not quitted her ſon, braving along with him the ravages of the cannon and of the bombs. They went out of the place together, when it was no longer tenable, and were purſued. *Go*, ſaid this heroic woman to the companion of her flight; *Go, and ſeek an aſylum and ſuccours among your allies; I will retard the march of our enemies, and may perhaps eſcape them.* Finding herſelf

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herſelf afterwards too cloſely preſſed, ſhe was ſeen to have recourſe to that act ſo common in Indoſtan among the women who have kept their daggers: ſhe plunged one into her heart, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. Her ſon did not long ſurvive her.

This Prince, before his cataſtrophe, was obliged to give to the Marattas the ſix-tenths of his revenue, which did not exceed 1,680,000 livres *. It was by virtue of their being in poſſeſſion of Amed-Abad, capital of the Guzarat, that theſe barbarians exacted this tribute. The Engliſh not only refuſed to ſubmit to this humiliating tribute, but wanted alſo to extend their rights over the whole province. Claims of ſo oppoſite a nature, laid the foundations of diſcord. All theſe troubles were appeaſed in 1776, by a treaty, which regulated that the antient uſurpers ſhould preſerve their conqueſts, but that the new ones ſhould have the free poſſeſſion of Baroche, and that a territory ſhould be added to it's own, the taxes upon which were to produce 720,000 livres †.

The Marattas ſeemed then to be in a ſituation which did not permit them to expect ſo favourable an arrangement. The union ſubſiſting between theſe pirates had never been ſhaken. This harmony had inſured them a decided ſuperiority over the other powers of Indoſtan, which were perpetually agitated with domeſtic feuds. Their firſt diviſions broke out in 1773. The brother and the ſon of their laſt chief diſputed the empire,

* 70,000 l. † 30,000 l.

and

and the divided ſubjects took part with the one and the other, according to their reſpective inclinations or intereſts.

DURING the courſe of theſe civil wars, the Soubah of the Decan regained the poſſeſſion of the provinces which the calamities of the times had obliged him to abandon to theſe barbarians. Heyder-Ali-Khan appropriated to himſelf that part of their territory that was moſt ſuitable to him. The Engliſh thought the opportunity favourable for ſeizing upon Salſette, from whence the Marattas had driven the Portugueſe in 1740.

Deſcription of the iſland of Salſette.

THE conqueſt of this iſland was not ſo eaſily accompliſhed as it had been expected. The citadel of Tanah, in which all it's ſtrength conſiſted, was defended with a degree of ſkill and perſeverance unknow'n in theſe regions. When it was ſummoned to ſurrender, the Governor, a man of ninety-two years of age, proudly anſwered, *I was not ſent here for that purpoſe*; and he immediately doubled his exertions and his courage. It was not till after he had been ſlain, and after his brave companions had ſuſtained a very bloody aſſault ſince his death, that the Britiſh troops entered the place on the 28th December 1774.

THEN it was only that the conqueror found himſelf maſter of a territory, which, though it be no more than twenty miles long, and fifteen broad, is one of the moſt populous and moſt fertile in Aſia. In the center of it is the mountain of Keneri, full of large and deep excavations, all of them cut in the body of the rock. Theſe are ſo many pagodas, generally arranged in a line, but

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but ſometimes placed one above the other. They are moſt frequently ornamented with figures and inſcriptions cut or engraved upon ſtone. The ſame ſingularities are obſervable in the Iſland of Elephants, bordering upon Salſette.

WORKS of ſo aſtoniſhing a nature, have given riſe to a multiplicity of fabulous accounts. The common people think they were executed five hundred thouſand years ago, by divinities of an inferior order. Some Bramins aſcribe them to Alexander the Great, whom they delight to honour with every thing that appears to them above the natural powers of man. We may reaſonably expect, that the Engliſh, to whom we are indebted for ſo much information reſpecting Aſia, will neglect no opportunity of being acquainted with the nature of theſe monuments, which are capable of throwing ſo great a light upon the hiſtory and religion of the Indies. They will the more eaſily accompliſh this, as Salſette is only ſeparated from Bombay by a very narrow channel.

Deſcription of the iſland of Bombay, it's preſent ſtate, and it's importance.

THIS iſland, which is little more than twenty, or five and twenty miles in circumference, was, for a long time, an object of general horror. No man choſe to ſettle upon a territory, ſo unhealthy, as to give riſe to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monſoons*. The country places were then filled with bamboos and cocoa-trees: it was with ſtinking fiſh that the trees were dunged, and the coaſts were corrupted with infectious fens. Theſe principles of deſtruction would undoubtedly have diſguſted the Engliſh of their colonies, had they not been detained there by the beſt harbour

bour in Indoſtan, and the only one which, beſide that of Goa, is capable of receiving ſhips of the line. So ſingular an advantage made them deſirous of correcting the inſalubrity of the air, which was eaſily done by laying the country open, and procuring a drain for the waters. Then the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, attracted by the mildneſs of the government, reſorted in multitudes to this ſettlement.

If we caſt an eye upon the globe ſince the origin of hiſtory, we ſhall ſee men purſued by calamity, and fixing wherever they can be allowed to breathe. Is it not ſurpriſing, that the univerſality, and conſtant appearance of this phænomenon, has not yet taught the rulers of the earth, that the only way to prevent emigrations, is to make their ſubjects enjoy a ſituation mild enough to fix them in the country that gave them birth?

It is computed, that there are at preſent at Bombay near one hundred thouſand inhabitants, ſeven or eight thouſand of whom are ſailors: a few of them are employed in manufactures of ſilk and cotton. As the larger productions could not proſper upon a rock where the ſoil has very little depth, the attention of the people has been turned towards the cultivation of an excellent kind of onion, which, together with the fiſh that is dried there, is advantageouſly ſold, in the moſt diſtant markets. Theſe labours are not carried on with that degree of indolence ſo common under a burning ſky. The Indian has ſhewed himſelf ſuſceptible of emulation; and his character has been in ſome meaſure changed, by the example of

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of the indefatigable Perſees. The latter are not fiſhermen, and cultivators alone. The conſtruction, fitting out, and diſpatching of ſhips; every thing in a word which concerns the road, or navigation, is intruſted to their activity and induſtry.

Before the year 1759, the ſhips diſpatched from Europe to the Red Sea, the Perſian Gulph, and the coaſt of Malabar, generally went to the coaſts where they were to depoſit their money and goods, and where they were to take in their freſh lading. At that period, they all went and ſtopped at Bombay, where all the merchandiſe from the neighbouring places is collected without expence, ſince the Company have been inveſted with the dignity of admiral to the great Mogul, and in conſequence of this appointment have been obliged to maintain a conſiderable maritime force in theſe latitudes.

It was neceſſary that a ſtaple of this kind ſhould be well ſupplied with docks, ſhips, and merchants. Accordingly, the iſland ſoon poſſeſſed itſelf of all the navigation, and great part of the trade of Surat, which the other neighbouring marts had before carried on in the Aſiatic ſeas.

These advantages required to be ſettled upon a firm footing. To effect this, the harbour, which is the center of ſo many tranſactions, and where the fleets ſent by Great Britain into the Indian ocean are to be repaired, has been ſurrounded with fortifications. Theſe works are conſtructed with ſolidity, and have no other defect, it is ſaid, than that of being too extenſive. They

are defended by twelve hundred Europeans, and a much greater number of Aſiatic troops.

In 1773, the revenue of Bombay, and all it's dependencies, amounted to 13,607,212 livres, 10 ſols*, and the expences to 12,711,150 livres†. The ſtate of theſe numerous colonies has been certainly improved ſince that period; but we cannot aſcertain the amount of theſe improvements.

State of the coaſt of Coromandel, at the time of the arrival of the Engliſh.

The poſſeſſions of the Engliſh and the Marattas on the Malabar coaſt, are too much intermixed; their intereſts too contrary; and their claims too extenſive, not to make it certain, that, ſooner or later, theſe two powers will be at variance. It is impoſſible to determine which of them will be conqueror: this event will depend upon the circumſtances they ſhall happen to be in at the time, upon the alliances they may have formed, and principally upon the ſtateſmen who ſhall direct their political meaſures, and upon the generals who ſhall have the command of their armies. Let us ſee whether tranquillity be more firmly eſtabliſhed on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, which extend from Cape Comorin to the Ganges.

Geographers and hiſtorians always conſider theſe two countries, bordering on each other, as diſtinct, and as inhabited by people who have no reſemblance, either in their manners or their coin. They alſo differ in their language. Thoſe of Orixa have an idiom of their own, while their neighbours generally ſpeak the Malabar tongue.

* 566,967l. 3s. 4d. † 529,631l. 5s.

But

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But as the commerce in both is nearly the ſame, and carried on in the ſame manner, we ſhall comprehend them both under the ſingle name of Coromandel. The two coaſts reſemble each other in other reſpects. In both of them the heats are exceſſive; but, from the beginning of June to the middle of October, the ſea-breezes, which blow from ten o'clock in the morning 'till near ten at night, render the climate ſupportable. It is ſtill more refreſhed in the month of July, and eſpecially in November, by the rains, which may be called inceſſant.

THIS immenſe ſhore is covered, for the ſpace of about a mile, with a ſand entirely barren, againſt which the waves of the Indian ocean break with violence. Formerly, none but canoes, made with planks, very ſlightly put together, and, as it were, only ſow'n with kayar, landed on this ſpot. The firſt Europeans who came to theſe ſhores, were deſirous of landing there with larger and ſtronger built veſſels. Repeated misfortunes ſoon cured them of their preſumption. They found, in proceſs of time, that nothing was more reaſonable than to conform to a practice, which had at firſt appeared to them, fit only to be followed by an ignorant and unexperienced people.

THERE were many reaſons which at firſt occaſioned this country to be neglected by the Europeans who came to India. It was ſeparated by inacceſſible mountains from Malabar, where theſe bold navigators endeavoured to ſettle themſelves. Spices and aromatics, which were the principal objects

objects of their attention, were not to be found there. In a word, civil diſſenſions had baniſhed from it tranquillity, ſecurity, and induſtry.

At that period, the empire of Biſnagar, to which this vaſt country was ſubject, was falling to ruin. The firſt monarchs of that illuſtrious ſtate owed their power to their abilities. They headed their armies in war; in peace, they directed their councils, viſited their provinces, and adminiſtered juſtice. Proſperity corrupted them. By degrees, they contracted the habit of withdrawing themſelves from the ſight of their people, and of leaving the cares of government to their generals and miniſters. This conduct paved the way for their ruin. The governors of Viſapour, the Carnatic, Golconda, and Orixa, threw off their dependence, and aſſumed the title of kings. Thoſe of Madura, Tanjore, Myſore, Gingi, and ſome others, likewiſe uſurped the ſovereign authority, but retained their antient title of Naick. This great revolution had juſt happened when the Europeans appeared upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

The foreign trade was at that time inconſiderable: it conſiſted only of diamonds from Golconda, which were carried to Calicut and Surat, and from thence to Ormus or Suez, from whence they were circulated through Europe and Aſia. Maſſulipatan, the richeſt and moſt populous city in theſe countries, was the only market that was know'n for linens; they were purchaſed at a great fair annually holden there by the Arabian and Malayan veſſels that frequented that bay, and by

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caravans that arrived from distant parts. The linens were exported to the same places as the diamonds.

In what manner the Europeans have settled their trade on the Coromandel coast; and the extent they have given to it.

The taste for the manufactures of Coromandel, which began to prevail here, inspired all the European nations trading to the Indian seas with the resolution of forming settlements there. They were not discouraged either by the difficulty of conveying goods from the inland parts of the country, where there was no navigable river; by the total want of harbours, where the sea, at one season of the year, is not navigable; by the barrenness of the coasts, for the most part uncultivated and uninhabited; nor by the tyranny and fluctuating state of the government. They thought that industry would come there in quest of money; that Pegu would furnish timber for building, and Bengal corn for subsistence; that a prosperous voyage of nine months would be more than sufficient to complete their ladings; and that, by fortifying themselves, they should be secure against the attacks of the weak tyrants that oppressed these countries.

The first colonies were established near the seashore. Some of them obtained a settlement by force: most of them were formed with the consent of the sovereigns, and all were confined to a very narrow tract of land. The boundaries of each were marked out by a hedge of thorny plants, which was their only defence. In process of time, fortifications were raised; and the security derived from them, added to the lenity of the government, soon increased the number of colonists.

niſts. The ſplendour and independence of theſe ſettlements frequently excited the jealouſy of the princes in whoſe dominions they were formed; but their attempts to demoliſh them proved abortive. Each colony increaſed in proſperity, in proportion to the riches and the wiſdom of the nation that had founded it.

None of the companies that exerciſed an excluſive privilege beyond the Cape of Good Hope, had any concern in the trade of diamonds; which was always left to private merchants, and by degrees fell intirely into the hands of the Engliſh, or the Jews and Armenians that lived under their protection. At preſent, this grand object of luxury and induſtry is much reduced. The revolutions that have happened in Indoſtan, have prevented people from reſorting to theſe rich mines; and the anarchy into which this unhappy country is plunged, leaves no room to hope that they will be again attended to. The whole of the commercial operations on the coaſt of Coromandel is confined to the purchaſe of cottons.

The manufacturing of the white cottons bought there, differs ſo little from that of our's, that it would be neither intereſting nor inſtructive to enter into a minute deſcription of it. The proceſs uſed in making their printed cottons, which was at firſt ſervilely followed in Europe, has ſince been rendered more ſimple, and brought to greater perfection, by our manufactures. The painted cottons, which are likewiſe bought there, we have not yet attempted to imitate. Thoſe who ima-

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gine we have been prevented from undertaking this branch of induſtry, merely by the high price of labour among us, are miſtaken. Nature has not given us the materials neceſſary for the compoſition of thoſe bright and indelible colours, which conſtitute the principal merit of the Indian manufactures; nor has ſhe furniſhed us with the waters that are of uſe to work them up properly.

THE Indians do not univerſally obſerve the ſame method in painting their cottons; either becauſe there are ſome niceties peculiar to certain provinces, or becauſe different ſoils produce different drugs for the ſame uſes.

WE ſhould tire the patience of our readers, were we to trace the ſlow and painful progreſs of the Indians in the art of painting their cottons. It is natural to believe that they have derived it from their antiquity, rather than from the fertility of their genius. The circumſtance that ſeems to authorize this conjecture is, that they have ſtopped in their improvements, and have not advanced a ſingle ſtep in the arts for many ages; whereas we have proceeded with amazing rapidity, and view, with an emulation full of confidence, the immenſe ſpace that ſtill lies between us and the goal. Indeed, were we to conſider only the want of invention in the Indians, we ſhould be tempted to believe that, from time immemorial, they had received the arts they cultivate from ſome more induſtrious nation: but when it is remembered that theſe arts are entirely dependent

on the materials, gums, colours, and productions of India, we cannot but be convinced that they are natives of that country.

It may appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing that cottons painted with all colours ſhould be ſold at ſo moderate a price, that they are almoſt as cheap as thoſe which have only two or three. But it muſt be obſerved that the merchants of the country ſell to all the companies, a large quantity of cottons at a time; and that the demand for cottons painted with various colours makes but a ſmall article in their aſſortments, as they are not much eſteemed in Europe.

Though cottons of all ſorts be in ſome degree manufactured throughout the whole country of Indoſtan, which extends from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Ganges; it is obſervable, that the fine ſorts are made in the eaſtern part, the common ones in the center, and the coarſe ones in the moſt weſtern diſtricts. Manufactures are eſtabliſhed in the European colonies, and upon the coaſt: they are more frequent at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues from the ſea, where cotton is more cultivated, and proviſions are cheaper. The purchaſes made there are carried thirty or forty leagues further into the country. The Indian merchants ſettled in our factories have always the management of this buſineſs.

The quantity and quality of the goods wanted are ſettled with theſe people: the price is fixed according to the patterns; and, at the time the contract is made, a third or a fourth part of the money agreed for is advanced. This arrangement

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is owen to the neceſſity theſe merchants themſelves lie under, of advancing money to the workmen by the many partners or agents who are diſperſed throughout the whole country; by their being obliged to keep a watchful eye upon them, for the ſake of ſecuring the produce of theſe manufactures; and to diminiſh the quantity gradually, by withdrawing from the manufactures every piece that is finiſhed. Without theſe precautions, the Europeans would never receive what they require. The weavers, indeed, fabricate for their own profit whatever is uſed in home conſumption. Theſe undertakings, which require only a ſmall capital, and a capital too which returns every week, are ſeldom beyond the reach of the greateſt number of them: but few of them have means ſufficient, without being aſſiſted, to work the fine linens deſtined for exportation; and thoſe who had it in their power would not do it, from a well-grounded apprehenſion of the exactions that are too common under a government ſo oppreſſive.

The companies that have either capitals or good management conſtantly keep the ſtock of one year in advance in their ſettlements. By this method they are ſure of having the quantity of goods they have occaſion for, and of the quality they chuſe, at the moſt convenient time: not to mention that their workmen, and their merchants, who are kept in conſtant employment, never leave them.

Thoſe nations that want money and credit cannot begin their mercantile operations till the arrival

rival of their ſhips. They have only five or ſix months at moſt, to execute the orders ſent from Europe. The goods are manufactured and examined in haſte; and they are even obliged to take ſuch as are know'n to be bad, and would be rejected at any other time. The neceſſity they are under of completing their cargoes, and fitting out their veſſels before the hurricanes come on, allow no time for nicety of inſpection.

It would be a miſtake to imagine that the country agents could be prevailed upon to order goods to be made on their account, in hopes of ſelling them with a reaſonable advantage to the company, in whoſe ſervice they are engaged. For beſides that the generality of them are not rich enough to embark in ſo large an undertaking, they would not be certain of finding their account in it. If the company that employ them ſhould be prevented, by unforeſeen accidents, from ſending the uſual number of ſhips, theſe merchants would have no vent for their commodities. The Indians, the form of whoſe dreſs requires different breadths and lengths from thoſe of the cottons fabricated for our uſe, would not purchaſe them; and the other European companies would be provided, or certain of being provided with whatever the extent of their trade required, and their money enabled them to purchaſe. The plan of procuring loans, which was contrived to remedy this inconvenience, never has been, or can be uſeful.

It has been a cuſtom, time immemorial, in Indoſtan, for every citizen who borrows money to give a written inſtrument to his creditor. This

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deed is of no force in a court of judicature, unleſs it be ſigned by three witneſſes, and bear the day of the month, and the year when it was made, with the rate of intereſt agreed upon by the parties. If the borrower ſhould fail to fulfil his engagements, he may be arreſted by the lender himſelf. He is never impriſoned, becauſe there is no fear of his making his eſcape. He would not even eat without obtaining leave of his creditor.

The Indians make a threefold diviſion of intereſt; one of which is ſin, another neither ſin nor virtue, and a third virtue: this is their mode of expreſſion. The intereſt that is ſin is four per cent. a month; and the intereſt that is neither ſin nor virtue, is two; the intereſt that is virtue, one. The laſt is, in their opinion, an act of beneficence that only belongs to the moſt heroic minds. Yet though the Europeans who are forced to borrow meet with this treatment, it is plain they cannot avail themſelves of the indulgence without involving themſelves in ruin.

The foreign trade of Coromandel is not in the hands of the natives. In the weſtern part, indeed, there are Mohammedans, know'n by the name of Chalias, who, at Naour and Porto-Nuovo, ſend out ſhips to Achen, Merguy, Siam, and the eaſtern coaſt. Beſide veſſels of conſiderable burden employed in theſe voyages, they have ſmaller embarkations for the coaſting trade, for Ceylon, and the pearl fiſhery. The Indians of Maſſulipatan turn their attention another way. They import white callicoes from Bengal, which they dye or print, and ſell them again at the places from

from whence they had them, at thirty-five or forty per cent. advantage.

EXCEPTING theſe tranſactions, which are of very little conſequence, the whole trade is veſted in the Europeans, who have no partners but a few Banians and Armenians ſettled in their colonies. The quantity of callicoes exported from Coromandel to the different ſea-ports in India, may be computed at three thouſand five hundred bales. Of theſe the French carry eight hundred to Malabar, Mocha, and the iſle of France; the Engliſh twelve hundred to Bombay, Malabar, Sumatra, and the Philippine Iſlands; and the Dutch fifteen hundred to their ſeveral ſettlements. Except five hundred bales deſtined for Manilla, each of the value of 2,400 livres *, the others are of ſo ordinary a kind that they do not exceed 720 livres † at prime coſt: ſo that the whole number of three thouſand five hundred bales does not amount to more than 3,360,000 livres ‡.

COROMANDEL furniſhes Europe with nine thouſand five hundred bales; eight hundred of which are brought by the Danes; two thouſand five hundred by the French; three thouſand by the Engliſh; and three thouſand two hundred by the Dutch. A conſiderable part of theſe callicoes is dyed blue, or ſtriped with red and blue for the African trade. The others are fine muſlins, printed callicoes, and handkerchiefs from Maſſulipatan, or Palicate. It is proved by experience, that one with another, each bale, in the nine thou-

* 100l. † 30l. 10s. ‡ 140,000l.

ſand

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ſand five hundred, coſts only 960 livres *, conſequently they ought to bring in to the manufactory where they are wrought 8,160,000 livres †.

THE payments are not entirely made in ſpecie either in Europe or Aſia; we give in exchange woollen cloths, iron, lead, copper, coral, and ſome other articles of leſs value. On the other hand, Aſia pays with ſpices, rice, ſugar, corn, and dates. All theſe articles taken together, may amount to 4,800,000 livres ‡. From this calculation it follows, that Coromandel receives 6,720,000 livres § in money.

Poſſeſſions of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel.

THE Engliſh, who have acquired the ſame ſuperiority upon this coaſt that they have elſewhere, have formed on it ſeveral ſettlements. The firſt that preſents itſelf, is Devi-cottah. It was Colonel Lawrence who firſt ſeized upon it in 1749. Some political conſiderations determined the king of Tanjore to give up what had been taken from him, and to add to it a territory of three miles in circumference. In 1758, the place paſſed under the dominion of the French, but ſoon after returned, without fortifications, under that of it's firſt conquerors. They flattered themſelves that they ſhould make an important poſt of it. It was an opinion almoſt generally received, that the river Colram, which waſhes it's walls, might be put in a condition to receive large ſhips. The coaſt of Coromandel would not then have been without a harbour; and the nation in poſſeſſion of the only road that could be found there, would

* 40l. † 340,000l.
‡ 200,000l. § 280,000l.

have

have had a powerful advantage, both with reſpect to war and commerce, of which it's rival nations would have been deprived. Some unforeſeen obſtacles muſt have rendered this project impracticable, ſince the poſt has been abandoned, and farmed out for a rent of forty-five, or fifty thouſand livres*.

In 1686, the Engliſh purchaſed Cudalore, with a territory extending eight miles along the coaſt, and four miles into the interior part of the country. This acquiſition, which they obtained of an Indian prince for the ſum of 742,500 livres†, was confirmed to them by the Moguls, who ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the Carnatic. Conſidering afterwards, that the fortreſs, which they found ready built, was more than a mile from the ſea, and that the reinforcements deſtined for it might be intercepted; they built fort St. David within cannon-ſhot of it, at the mouth of a river, and on the verge of the Indian ocean. Since that time, three hamlets have been erected, which, with the town and fortreſs, are computed to contain ſixty thouſand ſouls. Their employment is dying blue, or painting the cottons that come from the inland parts of the country, and manufacturing the fineſt dimities in the world, to the amount of 1,500,000 livres‡. The plundering of this ſettlement by the French in 1758, and the demoliſhing of it's fortifications, have done it no laſting injury. It's ſpirit ſeems rather increaſed, though St. David has not been rebuilt, and Cu-

* From 1,875l. to 2,083l. 6s. 8d.
† 30,937l. 10s. ‡ 62,500l.

dalore

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dalore is only put into a condition of making a tolerable reſiſtance. A revenue of 144,000 livres* defrays all the expences of this ſettlement. Maſſulipatan affords advantages of another kind.

THIS town, which is ſituated at the mouth of the Criſtina, ſerves as a harbour for the provinces that formerly conſtituted the kingdom of Golconda, and for other countries with which it keeps up an eaſy intercourſe, by the means of excellent roads, and by the help of a river. It was antiently the moſt active, moſt populous, and richeſt market in Indoſtan. The great ſettlements ſucceſſively formed by the Europeans on the coaſt of Coromandel, made it loſe much of it's conſequence. The French imagined that they could reſtore it to ſome of it's former ſplendour, and made themſelves maſters of it in 1750. Nine years after, it paſſed from their hands into thoſe of the Engliſh, who are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it.

THESE laſt ſovereigns have not ſucceeded, nor will they ever ſucceed, in bringing Maſſulipatan to the ſtate in which it was in very antient times: but their efforts have not been entirely throw'n away. As the plants which are uſed for dying the linens, are more plentiful, and of better quality, on this territory than in any other part, ſome of the manufactures have been revived, and others extended. This acquiſition, however, will always be of leſs advantage to the Engliſh, from the goods they will purchaſe there, than from thoſe which they may ſell. From time immemorial, the people from the inland country uſed

* 60,000l.

to

to come in caravans to provide themſelves with ſalt upon this coaſt. At preſent they reſort to it from a more conſiderable diſtance, and in greater numbers than ever; and carry back with them, along with this article of abſolute neceſſity, many woollen goods, and ſeveral other works of European manufacture. This circulation, which has added conſiderably to the cuſtoms, will neceſſarily increaſe, unleſs it ſhould be put a ſtop to by any of thoſe revolutions which ſo frequently, and ſo dreadfully, change the face of this rich part of the globe.

GREAT BRITAIN alſo poſſeſſes upon this coaſt the provinces of Candavir, of Moutáſanagar, of Elur, of Rajamandry, and Chicacol, which extend ſix hundred miles along the coaſt, and which run from thirty to ninety miles up the country. The French, who had obtained the ceſſion of them during the ſhort term of their proſperity, loſt them at the period of their imprudences and their misfortunes. They became again, though for a little time, part of the Soubahſhip of the Decan, from which they had been ſeparated, as it were, by force. In 1766, it became neceſſary to cede them to the Engliſh, whoſe inſatiable ambition was ſupported by intrigues artfully conducted, and by formidable forces. The colonies which the rival nations had formed in this great ſpace, were unmoleſted: but Vizagapatam, and the other factories of the ruling people, acquired freſh activity; and the number of them was increaſed. The country emerged a little from that ſtate of anarchy, into which it had been plunged by

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by a ſeries of petty tyrants. It yields a revenue of 9,000,000 of livres*, of which only 2,025,000 livres† are given to the Indian Prince, who has been ſtripped of it. The exports from hence are at preſent five times more conſiderable than they were ten years ago.

THE quantity of labour increaſes in proportion as the Zemindars, who were originally nothing more than farmers, are deprived of the abſolute authority they had uſurped during the commotions of their country, in proportion as they are reduced to an impoſſibility of making war againſt each other; and in proportion as the diſtricts ſubmitted to their juriſdiction, are freed from their oppreſſion. The proſperity would be more rapid and brilliant, if the Engliſh government would preſerve an immenſe tract of land from the inundations of the Chriſtina and the Guadavery, with which it is overflowed ſix months in the year; if theſe waters were prudently diſtributed for the purpoſe of watering the country; and if theſe two ſtreams were united by a navigable canal. The antient Indians had an idea of theſe labours; and perhaps they were begun. At leaſt they are thought by men of underſtanding to be very practicable, and attended with little expence.

BUT how vain would be the hopes of ſuch an improvement? We are not afraid of being accuſed of injuſtice, in ſuſpecting that the Company is much more engaged with the thoughts of acquiring Orixa, a province which extends along the

* 375,000l. † 84,375l.

borders

borders of the ſea, from their poſſeſſions in Golconda, to the banks of the Ganges, which are equally ſubject to them.

BEFORE the year 1736, this country made part of Bengal. At this period the Marattas took poſſeſſion of it, and ſtill maintain themſelves in it. They left the European factories undiſturbed, and ſettled in the inland parts. Naagapour is their capital. Their military force conſiſts of forty thouſand horſe. Their people are chiefly employed in ſpinning cotton, which they go and ſell upon the coaſt. So great a diſmemberment of the rich empire they have conquered in this part of the globe, is diſpleaſing to the Engliſh, and their ambition is to unite it to their dominions.

HOWEVER this may be, the goods bought, or fabricated in the ſettlements formed by this nation between Cape Comorin and the Ganges, are all collected at Madraſs.

THIS town was built more than a century ago by William Langhorne, in the country of Arcot, and by the ſea-ſide. As he placed it in the midſt of a ſandy tract, altogether dry, and where there was no water fit for drinking, but what was fetched from the diſtance of more than a mile, people were curious to know what reaſons could have determined him to make ſo bad a choice. His friends pretended that his view was to draw thither all the trade of St. Thomas, which has actually been the conſequence, while his enemies imputed it to a deſire of continuing in the neighbourhood

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bourhood of a miſtreſs he had in that Portugueſe colony.

MADRAS is divided into the White Town and the Black Town; the firſt of theſe, more know'n in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, is inhabited only by the Engliſh. For a long time it had only a few fortifications, and thoſe very bad: but ſome conſiderable works have lately been added. The Black Town, which was formerly quite open, has been ſurrounded, ſince the year 1767, with a ſtrong wall, and a ditch filled with water. This precaution, joined to the ruin of Pondicherry, has collected three hundred thouſand men, Jews, Armenians, Moors, and Indians, on this ſpot.

AT the diſtance of a mile from this ſettlement, is Chepauk, where the court of the Nabob of Arcot is fixed, ſince 1769.

THE territory of Madras was formerly nothing: at preſent, it extends fifty miles weſt, fifty miles north, and fifty miles ſouth. In this large ſpace, there are conſiderable manufactures, which are conſtantly increaſing, and various kinds of cultivation, which are becoming more flouriſhing every day. Theſe different branches of induſtry keep one hundred thouſand perſons employed.

THESE conceſſions were the reward of a plan which the Engliſh had formed of beſtowing the Carnatic on Mohammed-Ali-Khan, of the battles they had fought to maintain him in the poſt to which they had raiſed him, and of the good fortune they had to deſtroy the power of the

French,

French, ever ready to counteract their measures.

THE fortunate Nabob ſoon reaped the fruits of his gratitude. His protectors, for their intereſt as well as his, undertook to enlarge the bounds of his authority and of his dominions. Before the Mogul government had degenerated into anarchy; ſeveral Indian and Mooriſh princes uſed to ſend their tributes to the Carnatic, from whence they were to be conveyed to the treaſury of the empire. Since all the ſprings of government were relaxed, this double obligation was no longer fulfilled. The Engliſh confirmed the independence of the country, which they conſidered as their own: but they inſiſted, that the provinces which had been ſubordinate to that part of the country, ſhould continue in their former ſubjection. The weakeſt of them complied; others more powerful, ventured to reſiſt; but they were ſubdued.

THESE circumſtances combined, have given Mohammed-Ali-Khan a very extenſive dominion, and a revenue of 31,500,000 livres*. He gives up but nine millions † of this to the Engliſh, who are obliged to defend his fortreſſes and his dominions; ſo that there remain 22,500,000 livres ‡ for his perſonal expences, and the ſupport of his civil government.

THE Engliſh Company had valuable poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel, eighteen thouſand Sipahis well diſciplined, and three thouſand five

* 1,312,500l. † 375,000l. ‡ 937,500l.

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hundred white troops. They diſpoſed at pleaſure of all the forces of the Carnatic. The only European nation, that could have given them umbrage, was ſubdued. They ſeemed therefore confirmed in the peaceful enjoyment of ſo many advantages, when, in 1767, they were attacked by Hyder-Ali-Khan, a ſoldier of fortune, who, after he had learnt the military art from the French, had made great conqueſts, and become maſter of Myſore. This daring and active adventurer, at the head of a better army than had ever been commanded by an Indian general, entered boldly into the countries which Britiſh valour was bound to defend. The war became a war of ſtratagem, as this artful commander wiſhed it to be. Experience having taught him to fear the attacks of the infantry and artillery employed againſt him, he declined, as much as poſſible, any regular action, and contented himſelf with hovering about the enemy, haraſſing them, carrying off their forragers, and intercepting their proviſions, while his cavalry was employed in ravaging the country, plundering the provinces, and ſpreading deſolation as far as to the gates of Madras. Theſe calamities made the Engliſh deſirous of an accommodation, which they obtained, after a deſtructive, and not very honourable war, of two years.

SINCE that period, the views of the Company have been to prevent Hyder-Ali-Khan, the Marattas, and the Soubah of the Decan, the three chief powers of the peninſula, from making any conqueſts, or forming any cloſe connection with each

each other. While they ſucceed in this political ſyſtem, they will preſerve their ſuperiority on the coaſt of Coromandel: but they will be obliged to increaſe their revenue, which, in 1773, did not exceed 24,196,680 livres*; or they muſt diminiſh their expences, which, at the ſame period, amounted to 26,397,585 livres†. It will only be after this change has been accompliſhed, that they will be in a condition effectually to protect their ſettlements at Sumatra.

Engliſh ſettlement in the iſland of Sumatra.

ALTHOUGH the road of this very extenſive iſland, had been frequented by the Engliſh, ever ſince their arrival in India, it was not till 1688 that the iſland received a colony of theſe people. The navigators diſpatched to Madras, had orders to fix the factory at Indapoura, the part of the country moſt abounding in gold; but chance decided the matter otherwiſe: the winds having driven the ſhips to Bencoolen, it was thought proper to fix there.

THE two nations made their exchanges at firſt with a great deal of frankneſs and confidence: but this harmony did not ſubſiſt long. The agents of the Company ſoon gave themſelves up to that ſpirit of rapine and tyranny, which the Europeans ſo univerſally carry into Aſia. Clouds of diſcontent began to ariſe between them and the natives, which were gradually collected into a ſtorm. The animoſity was already at it's height, when the foundations of a fortreſs were ſeen riſing out of the ground, at the diſtance of two leagues

* 1,008,195l. † 1,089,899l. 7s. 6d.

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from the city. At this ſight, the inhabitants of Bencoolen took up arms, and were joined by all the country. The magazines were burnt, and the Engliſh obliged to embark with precipitation. Their baniſhment was not of long continuance. They were recalled; and derived from their diſaſter, the advantage of being allowed to finiſh the conſtruction of Fort Marlborough without oppoſition.

THEIR tranquillity was no more diſturbed till 1759. At this period, the French took the fort, and deſtroyed it, together with all the civil and military edifices. The booty was very inconſiderable, becauſe every thing of value had been removed in time. Even before the concluſion of hoſtilities, the Engliſh regained poſſeſſion of this place; but they did not reinſtate the works. Fort Marlborough then ſhook off the dependence it had hitherto been under to Madras, and conſtituted a direction of it's own.

THE Chineſe, the Malays, and the ſlaves brought from the Mozambique, form the population of the Engliſh ſettlement, which is defended by four hundred Europeans and ſome Sipahis. All the trade carried on there, belongs to the free merchants, except that of pepper. The Company draw from thence annually fifteen hundred tons of it, which they get at an exceſſive low rate. Half of this produce is conveyed to Great Britain by a ſingle ſhip; the reſt is put on board two veſſels ſent from Europe, and which carry it to China, where it is diſpoſed of to advantage. In 1773, the revenue of this factory aroſe

to

to 4,982,895 livres*, and it's expences were 3,165,480 livres†.

Views of the Engliſh upon Balambangan. Their expulſion from that iſland.

THIS colony was not thought ſufficiently uſeful: accordingly, it was to have been abandoned, but not 'till after the ſucceſs of a great project that was meditated. The Engliſh had for a long time wiſhed for a poſſeſſion that might become a ſtaple, where the merchandize and proviſions of China, and of the Oriental iſlands, might be exchanged for the proviſions and merchandize of Indoſtan and Europe. Their plan was to make it the moſt conſiderable mart in Aſia. The iſland of Balambangan, ſituated at the northern point of Borneo, appeared to them calculated to anſwer their purpoſe; and the king of Solor reſigned it to them in 1766. The next year, they planted their flag there; but it was not till 1772, that they formed their ſettlement. Some clerks, three hundred white or black ſoldiers, one ſhip, and two ſmaller veſſels, were the firſt beginnings of an edifice, which, in proceſs of time, was to be raiſed to an immenſe height. Unfortunately, the commanders quarrelled; the few troops that had eſcaped from fatal diſeaſes, were too much ſcattered; and the ſhips went to open a trade with the neighbouring ſtates. Under theſe inauſpicious circumſtances, the new factory was attacked, taken, and deſtroyed.

THE Engliſh are ſtill ignorant, or pretend to be ſo, from whence this act of violence, which coſt them 9,000,000 of livres‡, proceeded. Their

* 207,620l. 12s. 6d. † 131,895l. ‡ 375,000l.

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ſuſpicions have appeared to fix alternately upon the Dutch, who are conſtantly alarmed for the Moluccas; upon the Spaniards, who might be apprehenſive for the Philippine iſlands; upon the barbarians of the neighbouring latitudes, whoſe liberty ſeemed to be threatened: ſometimes even upon a conſpiracy of all theſe enemies, who had united their reſentment and their intereſts. From whatever quarter this unexpected ſtroke may have come, the miſchief is not irremediable. The Britiſh nation may recover at Queda, on another part of the continent of Malacca, or in ſome one of the numerous iſlands ſcattered about this ſtrait, what they have loſt at Balambangan. If obſtacles of too powerful a nature ſhould once more render their attempts ineffectual, they would find a multitude of motives of conſolation in Bengal.

Revolutions that have happened in Bengal.

BENGAL is a vaſt country of Aſia, bounded by the kingdoms of Aſham and Arracan on the eaſt; by ſeveral provinces belonging to the Great Mogul on the weſt; by dreadful rocks on the north, and by the ſea on the ſouth. It extends on both ſides in the Ganges, which riſes from different ſources Thibet, and, after ſeveral windings through Mount Caucaſus, penetrates into India, acroſs the mountains on it's frontier. This river, after having formed in it's courſe a great number of large, fertile, and well peopled iſlands, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, by ſeveral mouths, of which only two are know'n and frequented.

TOWARDS the ſource of this river, was formerly a city called Palibothra. It's antiquity was ſo great, that Diodorus Siculus makes no ſcruple of aſſuring

assuring us that it was built by that Hercules, to whom the Greeks ascribed all the great and surprising actions that had been performed in the world. In Pliny's time, it's opulence was celebrated through the whole universe; and it was looked upon as the general mart for the people inhabiting both sides of the river that washed it's walls.

The history of the revolutions that have happened in Bengal, is intermixed with so many fables, that it does not deserve our attention. All we can discover, is, that the extent of this empire has been sometimes greater and sometimes less; that it has had fortunate and unfortunate periods; and that it has already been formed into one single kingdom, or divided into several independent states. It was under the dominion of one master, when a more powerful tyrant Akbar, grandfather of Aurengzebe, undertook the conquest of it; which was begun in 1590, and completed in 1595. Since this æra, Bengal has always acknowleged the Mogul for it's sovereign. At first, the governor to whom the administration of it was intrusted, held his court at Rajamahul, but afterwards removed it to Dacca. Ever since the year 1718, it has been fixed at Muxadavad, a large inland town, two leagues distant from Cassimbuzar. There are several Nabobs and Rajahs subordinate to this viceroy, who is called Soubah.

This important post was occupied for a long time by the sons of the Great Mogul; but they so frequently made an improper use of the forces

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and treaſure at their diſpoſal, to raiſe diſturbances in the empire, that it was thought proper to commit that province to men who had leſs influence, and were more dependent. The new governors, indeed, did not give any alarm to the court of Delhi; but they were far from being punctual in remitting the tribute they collected, to the royal treaſury. Theſe abuſes gained further ground after the expedition of Kouli Khan; and matters were carried ſo far, that the emperor, who was unable to pay the Marattas what he owed them, authoriſed them, in 1740, to collect it in Bengal themſelves. Theſe banditti, divided into three armies, ravaged this fine country for ten years together, and did not leave it till they had extorted immenſe ſums.

Antient manners of the Indians ſtill exiſting in the Biſſenpour.

During all theſe commotions, deſpotic government, which unhappily prevails throughout India, kept up it's influence in Bengal; though a ſmall diſtrict in the province that had preſerved it's independence, ſtill continues to maintain it. This fortunate ſpot, which extends about a hundred and ſixty miles, is called Biſſenpour. It has been governed time immemorial by a Bramin family of the tribe of Rajahputs. Here it is that the purity and equity of the antient political ſyſtem of the Indians is found unadulterated. This ſingular kind of government, the moſt beautiful and moſt intereſting monument in the world, has hitherto been beholden with too much indifference. The only remains we have of antient nations, conſiſt in monuments of braſs and marble, which ſpeak only to the imagination and to opinion, uncertain interpreters of

of manners and cuſtoms that no longer exiſt. Were a philoſopher tranſported to Biſſenpour, he would immediately be a witneſs of the life led by the firſt inhabitants of India many thouſand years ago; he would converſe with them; he would trace the progreſs of this nation, celebrated as it were from it's very infancy; he would ſee the riſe of a government, which being founded only on happy prejudices; on a ſimplicity and purity of manners, on the mildneſs of the people, and the integrity of the chiefs, has ſurvived thoſe innumerable ſyſtems of legiſlation, which have made only a tranſitory appearance upon the ſtage of the world with the generations they were deſtined to torment. More ſolid and durable than thoſe political ſtructures, which, raiſed by impoſture and enthuſiaſm, are the ſcourges of mankind, and are doomed to periſh with the extravagant opinions that gave them birth, the government of Biſſenpour, the offspring of a juſt attention to order and the laws of nature, has been eſtabliſhed and maintained upon unchangeable principles, and has undergone no more alteration than thoſe principles themſelves. The ſingular ſituation of this country has preſerved to the inhabitants their primitive happineſs and the gentleneſs of their character, by ſecuring them from the danger of being conquered, or of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures. Nature has ſurrounded them with water; and they have only to open the ſluices of their rivers in order to overflow the whole country. The armies ſent to ſubdue them have ſo frequently been drowned, that the plan

of

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of enſlaving them has been laid aſide; and the projectors of it have thought proper to content themſelves with an appearance of ſubmiſſion.

LIBERTY and property are ſacred in Biſſenpour. Robbery, either public or private, is never heard of. As ſoon as any ſtranger enters the territory he comes under the protection of the laws, which provide for his ſecurity. He is furniſhed with guides at free coſt, who conduct him from place to place, and are anſwerable for his perſon and effects. When he changes his conductors, the new ones deliver to thoſe they relieve an atteſtation of their conduct, which is regiſtered and afterwards ſent to the Raja. All the time he remains in the country he is maintained and conveyed with his merchandiſe, at the expence of the ſtate, unleſs he deſires leave to ſtay longer than three days in the ſame place. In that caſe he is obliged to defray his own expences, unleſs he is detained by any illneſs or other unavoidable accident. This beneficence to ſtrangers is the conſequence of the warmth with which the citizens eſpouſe each other's intereſts. They are ſo far from entertaining a thought of doing an injury to each other, that whoever finds a purſe, or other thing of value, hangs it upon the firſt tree he meets with, and informs the neareſt guard, who give notice of it to the public by beat of drum. Theſe maxims of probity are ſo generally received, that they direct even the operations of gonernment. It receives annually between ſeven and eight millions *, without injury to agriculture

* From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4d. to 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

or

or trade, and what is not wanted of this ſum to ſupply the unavoidable expences of the ſtate, is laid out in improvements. The Raja is enabled to engage in theſe humane employments, as he pays the Moguls only what tribute he thinks proper, and at the times he chuſes.

READERS, whoſe feeling hearts have been tranſported with joy at this deſcription of the ſimplicity of the manners, and of the government of Biſſenpour! you, who, tired with the vices and diſorders prevailing in your own country, have undoubtedly frequently left it in imagination, in order to behold the virtue, and ſhare the happineſs, of this little corner of Bengal, it is with regret that I am now going to deſtroy, perhaps, this moſt agreeable illuſion, and pour the bitter cup of melancholy in your hearts; but truth compels me. Alas! this Biſſenpour, and all that I have been ſaying about it, is, perhaps, nothing more than a fable.

I UNDERSTAND—With ſorrow you exclaim: A fable. What! is there nothing but the evil that can be ſaid of man, that is poſſible to be true? His miſery, or his wretchedneſs, are they the only circumſtances that are inconteſtible? This being, born as he is for virtue, the principle of which he would in vain attempt to ſtifle, which he never counteracts without remorſe, and which he is obliged to reſpect, even when it diſtreſſes or humiliates him: notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, this being is prone to wickedneſs, in every part of the globe. He is inceſſantly panting after happineſs, founded upon the baſis of his real

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real duties, and yet he is unhappy every where. Every where, he groans under the yoke of merciles rulers: every where, he torments his equals, or is tormented by them; every where, he is corrupted by education, and poiſoned from his birth by prejudice; every where, he is devoured by ambition, agitated with the love of glory, or tormented with the thirſt of gold; while we are the ſad victims of theſe fell executioners, who purſue us to the verge of the grave. Has vice then extended itſelf over the whole earth? Alas! let innocence be ſuffered at leaſt to remain in this narrow ſpot, upon which our attention is fixed; and which our imagination, carrying us over the immenſe ſpace that is between us, delighted to dwell upon.

READER, I have experienced the ſame anxiety that you have. I have been led into the ſame reflections, when I found myſelf balanced between two authorities, almoſt of equal weight; the one for, the other againſt, the exiſtence of Biſſenpour. We have in our favour the teſtimony of an Engliſh traveller, who has reſided thirty years in Bengal. The teſtimony on the other ſide is alſo that of a traveller of the ſame nation, who has likewiſe lived for a conſiderable time in this country. Conſider the matter, and make your own choice.

Productions, manufactures, and exports of Bengal.

ALTHOUGH the reſt of Bengal be far from enjoying the ſame felicity, be it real or fabulous, as Biſſenpour, it is nevertheleſs the richeſt and moſt populous province in the whole empire. Beſides it's own conſumption, which is neceſſarily conſiderable,

ſiderable, it's exports are immenſe. One part of it's merchandiſe is carried into the inland country. Thibet takes off a quantity of it's cottons, beſides ſome iron and cloths of European manufacture. The inhabitants of thoſe mountains fetch them from Patna themſelves, and give muſk and rhubarb in exchange.

Musk is a production peculiar to Thibet. It is contained in a ſmall bag of the ſize of a hen's egg, which grows in the ſhape of a bladder under the belly of a ſpecies of goat, between the navel and the genitals. In it's original ſtate it is nothing more than putrid blood which coagulates in this bag. The largeſt bladder yields no more than half an ounce of muſk. The ſmell of it is naturally ſo ſtrong, that for common uſe, it is neceſſary to moderate it by mixing it with milder perfumes. The hunters, with a view of increaſing their profits, contrived to take away part of the muſk from the bladders, and to fill the vacuity with the liver and coagulated blood of the animal mixed together. The government, to put a ſtop to theſe fraudulent mixtures, ordered, that all the bladders, before they were ſewed up, ſhould be examined by inſpectors, who ſhould cloſe them with their own hands, and ſeal them with the royal ſignet. This precaution has put a ſtop to the frauds practiſed to reduce the quality of the muſk, but not to thoſe which are calculated to increaſe the weight of it; they contrive to open the bags artfully and pour particles of lead into them.

The trade of Thibet is nothing in compariſon of that which Bengal carries on with Agra, Delhi, and

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and the provinces adjacent to thoſe ſuperb capitals, in ſalt, ſugar, opium, ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffs, an infinite quantity of cottons, and particularly muſlins. Theſe articles, taken together, amounted formerly to more than forty millions a year*. So conſiderable a ſum was not conveyed to the banks of the Ganges; but it was the means of retaining one nearly equal, which muſt have iſſued from thence to pay the duties, or for other purpoſes. Since the viceroys of the Mogul have made themſelves nearly independent, and ſend him no revenues but ſuch as they chuſe to allow him, the luxury of the court is greatly abated, and the trade we have been ſpeaking of is no longer ſo conſiderable.

THE maritime trade of Bengal managed by the natives of the country, has not ſuffered the ſame diminution, nor was it ever ſo extenſive, as the other. It may be divided into two branches, of which Catek is in poſſeſſion of the greater part.

CATEK is a diſtrict of ſome extent, a little below the moſt weſtern mouth of the Ganges. Balaſore, ſituated upon a navigable river, ſerves it for a port. The navigation to the Maldives, which the Engliſh and French have been obliged to abandon on account of the climate, is carried on entirely from this road. Here they load their veſſels with rice, coarſe cottons, and ſome ſilk-ſtuffs for theſe iſlands, and receive cowries in exchange, which are uſed for money in Bengal, and are ſold to the Europeans.

* 1,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

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THE inhabitants of Catek, and ſome other people of the Lower Ganges, maintain a conſiderable correſpondence with the country of Aſham. This kingdom, which is thought to have formerly made a part of Bengal, and is only divided from it by a river that falls into the Ganges, deſerves to be better know'n, if what is aſſerted be true, that gunpowder has been diſcovered there, and that the diſcovery was communicated from Aſham to Pegu, and from Pegu to China. It's gold, ſilver, iron and lead mines would have added to it's fame, if they had been properly worked. In the midſt of theſe riches, which were of very little ſervice to this kingdom, ſalt was an article of which the inhabitants were ſo much in want, that they were reduced to the expedient of procuring it from a decoction of certain plants.

IN the beginning of the preſent century, ſome Bramins of Bengal carried their ſuperſtitions to Aſham, where the people were guided ſolely by the dictates of natural religion. The prieſts perſuaded them, that it would be more agreeable to Brama if they ſubſtituted the pure and wholeſome ſalt of the ſea to that which they uſed. The ſovereign conſented to this, on condition that the excluſive trade ſhould be in his hands; that it ſhould only be brought by the people of Bengal, and that the boats laden with it ſhould ſtop at the frontiers of his dominions. Thus have all theſe falſe religions been introduced by the influence and for the advantage of the prieſts who teach, and of the kings who admit them. Since this

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arrangement has taken place, forty veſſels are annually ſent from the Ganges to Aſham, laden with ſalt, which yields near two hundred per cent. profit. They receive in payment a ſmall quantity of gold and ſilver, ivory, muſk, aloes-wood, gum-lac, and a large quantity of ſilk.

THIS ſilk, which is ſingular in it's kind, requires no care; it is found on the trees where the ſilk-worms are produced, nouriſhed, and undergo their ſeveral metamorphoſes. The inhabitants have no other trouble but that of collecting it. The neglected cods produce a new generation; during the growth of which, the tree puts forth new leaves, which ſerve ſucceſſively for the nouriſhment of the young worms. Theſe revolutions are repeated twelve times in a year, but do not produce ſo much in the rainy, as in the dry, ſeaſons. The ſtuffs made of this ſilk have a great deal of luſtre, but do not laſt long.

EXCEPTING theſe two branches of maritime trade, which, for particular reaſons, have been confined to the natives of the country, the people of Bengal have been deprived of all others by the Europeans, and it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe. How could a weak, cautious, and oppreſſed people, who ſailed but ſlowly along the coaſts, and with very ſmall craft, ſucceſsfully maintain a competition againſt theſe ſtrangers, of an enterpriſing character, enjoying particular privileges even on the Ganges, and in all other parts, and bidding defiance to the tempeſtuous element upon their immenſe veſſels? But in a country, where in general nothing is to be found

neceſſary

neceſſary for the building of ſhips, the docks of Pegu are the only reſource which has been thought of to ſupply this deficiency.

PEGU is ſituated in the Gulph of Bengal, between the kingdoms of Arracon and Siam. Revolutions, which are ſo common in all the deſpotic empires of Aſia, have been here more frequently repeated than in any other. It has alternately been the center of a great power, and a province to ſeveral ſtates leſs extenſive than itſelf. It is at preſent dependent upon Ava, where the Armenians alone buy up every thing that is furniſhed by Pegu, in topazes, ſaphires, amethiſts, and rubies.

THE only port of Pegu that is open to ſtrangers is Syriam. The Portugueze were a long time maſters of it. It then diſplayed a degree of ſplendour, which vaniſhed with the proſperities of that nation. It was revived, when the Europeans, ſettled at Bengal, thought of conſtructing there the numerous veſſels which the extent of their maritime connexions required: but it having been found that the materials employed there were of bad quality, it became neceſſary to give up this point, and the road fell again into obſcurity. All the trade here at preſent is confined to the exchange of a few ordinary linens from the banks of the Ganges, or the coaſt of Coromandel, for wax, tin, and ivory.

A STILL more conſiderable branch of commerce, which the Europeans at Bengal carry on with the reſt of India, is that of opium. Opium is the produce of the white poppy of the gardens,

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all the parts of which yield a milky juice. This plant, which periſhes every year, has oblong and ſinuate leaves, of a ſea-green colour, alternately diſpoſed upon a ſmooth ſtem, with very few branches, and three feet high. Each branch is almoſt naked, terminated by a ſingle flower, rather large, compoſed of a calix with two leaves, four white on roſe-coloured petals, and a great number of ſtamina, placed under the piſtil, which they ſurround. The piſtil grows into a large round ſeed veſſel, ornamented with a radiated crown, and filled with a prodigious number of round, white, and oily ſeeds. When the poppy is full of ſap, and that the head of it begins to ſwell, one or more inciſions are made into it, from whence diſtil ſome drops of the milky liquor contained within, which is left to congeal, and is afterwards gathered. This operation is repeated three times; but the produce gradually diminiſhes in quantity, nor is it of ſo good a quality. When the opium is gathered, it is moiſtened and kneaded with water or honey, till it acquires the conſiſtence, viſcidity, and gloſſineſs of pitch, when it is well prepared, and is then made into ſmall cakes. That kind is moſt in eſteem which is rather ſoft, and yields to the touch, is inflammable, of a blackiſh-brown colour, and has a ſtrong fœtid ſmell; on the contrary, that which is dry, friable, burnt, and mixed with earth and ſand, is to be throw'n away. According to the different manner of preparing it, and the doſes in which it is given, it ſtupifies, excites agreeable ideas, or occaſions madneſs.

THE meconium, or common opium, is prepared by preſſing the poppy heads that have been already cut. The juice which comes out of them, mixed with the leaſt beautiful of the other drops, is kneaded with water, and made into cakes, which are ſent to Europe. As it is often adulterated, it is purified before it is uſed.

The province of Bahar is the country in the univerſe where the poppy is moſt cultivated. The fields are covered with it. Beſide the opium which is carried into the inland parts, there are annually ſix hundred thouſand pounds weight exported. This opium is not purified like that of Syria and Perſia, which we make uſe of in Europe; it is only a paſte that has undergone no preparation, and has not a tenth part of the virtue of the other.

AN exceſſive fondneſs for opium prevails in all the countries to the eaſt of India. In vain have the laws of China condemned to the flames every veſſel that imports, and every houſe that receives it; the conſumption is not the leſs conſiderable. It is ſtill greater at Malacca, Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macaſſar, Sumatra, and all the iſlands of this immenſe Archipelago. Theſe iſlanders ſmoke it with their tobacco. Thoſe who are deſirous of attempting ſome deſperate action, intoxicate themſelves with this ſmoke. In this intoxication they fall upon the firſt object that preſents itſelf; upon a man whom they have never ſeen, as well as upon their moſt implacable enemy. Theſe atrocious acts have not convinced the Dutch, who are maſters of the places where

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the opium has the moſt dangerous conſequences, of the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to, or even reſtraining the uſe of it. Rather than deprive themſelves of the conſiderable profit they derived from the ſale of it, they have authoriſed all the citizens to maſſacre thoſe who, being diſordered with opium, appear in the ſtreets armed. Thus it is that ſome ſyſtems of legiſlation introduce and keep up dangerous paſſions and opinions; and when once theſe have prevailed among the people, nothing can be thought of but death or tortures to put an end to them.

The Engliſh, who take as great a ſhare in this odious commerce as they poſſibly can, have other branches more peculiar to themſelves. They carry rice and ſugar to the coaſt of Coromandel, for which they are paid with metals. They carry to Malabar linens, which they exchange for ſpices; and to Surat ſilks, which they barter for cotton. They carry rice, gum-lac, and linens, to the Perſian Gulph, from whence they receive dried fruits, roſe-water, and eſpecially gold. They carry rich and various cargoes to the Red Sea, which furniſhes litle elſe than ſilver. Theſe ſeveral connections with the different parts of India, bring in annually to Bengal, from five and twenty to thirty millions of livres *.

Though this trade paſſes through the hands of the Europeans, and is carried on under their protection, it is not entirely on their own account. The Moguls, indeed, who are uſually

* From 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d. to 1,250,000l.

confined

confined to the places they hold under the government, have ſeldom any concern in theſe expeditions; but the Armenians, who, ſince the revolutions in Perſia, are ſettled upon the banks of the Ganges, to which they formerly only made voyages, readily throw their capitals into this trade. The Indians employ ſtill larger ſums in it. The impoſſibility of enjoying their fortunes under an oppreſſive government, does not deter the natives of this country from labouring inceſſantly to increaſe them. As they would run too great a riſque by engaging openly in trade, they are obliged to have recourſe to clandeſtine methods. As ſoon as a European arrives, the Gentoos, who know mankind better than is commonly ſuppoſed, ſtudy his character: and if they find him frugal, active, and well informed, offer to act as his brokers and caſhiers, and lend or procure him money upon bottomry, or at intereſt. This intereſt, which is uſually nine per cent. at leaſt, is higher, when he is under a neceſſity of borrowing of the Cheyks.

THESE Cheyks are a family of Indians, poſſeſſed of great power, who have, from time immemorial, lived on the banks of the Ganges. Their riches have long ago procured them the management of the bank belonging to the court, the farming of the public revenue, and the direction of the money, which they coin afreſh every year, in order to receive annually the benefit ariſing from the mint. By uniting ſo many advantages, they are enabled to lend the government forty *,

* 1,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

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ſixty*, or even a hundred millions† at a time. When the government finds it impoſſible to refund the money, or will not do it, the Cheyks are allowed to indemnify themſelves by oppreſſing the people. That ſo prodigious a capital ſhould be preſerved in the center of tyranny, and in the midſt of revolutions, appears incredible. It is not poſſible to conceive how ſuch a ſtructure could be raiſed, much leſs how it could be ſupported for ſo long a time. To explain this myſtery, it muſt be obſerved, that this family has always maintained a ſuperior influence at the court of Delhi; that the Nabobs and Rajahs in Bengal are dependent upon it; that thoſe who are about the perſon of the Subah have conſtantly been it's creatures; and that the Subah himſelf has been maintained or dethroned by the intrigues of this family. To this we may add, that the different branches of it, and the wealth belonging to them, being diſperſed, it has never been poſſible to do them ſo much miſchief, but that they have been always left with more reſources than were neceſſary to enable them to purſue their revenge to the utmoſt extreme. Their deſpotiſm extended itſelf even over the Europeans who had ſettled factories in this country; and who indeed preſented themſelves to the yoke, by borrowing of theſe rapacious financiers immenſe ſums, at an apparent intereſt of ten per cent. but in effect of more than twelve, from the difference there was between the money they received, and that which they had to return.

* 2,500,000l. † 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

THE

THE Portugueſe, who landed at Bengal a long time before the other navigators of Europe, formed a ſettlement at Chatigan, a port ſituated upon the frontier of Arracan, not far from the moſt eaſtern branch of the Ganges. The Dutch, who, without incurring the reſentment of an enemy at that time ſo formidable, were deſirous of ſharing in their good fortune, were engaged in ſearching for a port, which, without obſtructing their plan, would expoſe them the leaſt to hoſtilities. In 1603, their attention was directed to Balaſore; and all their rivals, rather through imitation than in conſequence of any well concerted ſchemes, followed their example. Experience taught theſe merchants the propriety of fixing as near as poſſible to the different markets from whence their rich cargoes came; and they ſailed up that branch of the Ganges, which, after having ſeparated itſelf from the main river at Mourcha, falls into the ſea, under the name of the river Hughly. The government of the country permitted them to erect warehouſes wherever there was plenty of manufactures; and it even very imprudently allowed the liberty of erecting fortifications upon the banks of the river.

ON going up the river, we firſt meet with the Engliſh ſettlement at Calcutta, where the air is unwholeſome, and the anchorage unſafe. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, this town, to which liberty and ſecurity had ſucceſſively attracted many rich Armenian, Mooriſh, and Indian merchants, has increaſed it's population in latter times to ſix hundred thouſand ſouls. On the

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land ſide, it would be entirely open to the enemy, if there were any there, or if they were to be feared: but Fort Williams, which is only at the diſtance of half a mile, would defend it againſt any forces ſent from Europe to attack or bombard it. It is a regular octagon, with eight baſtions, ſeveral counter-guards, and ſome half-moons, without either a glacis or covered-way. The ditch of this place, which has coſt more than twenty millions*, may be about one hundred and ſixty feet wide, and eighteen feet deep.

Six leagues higher is ſituated Frederic Nagore, founded by the Danes in 1756, in order to ſupply the place of an antient ſettlement, where they had not been able to maintain their ground. This new eſtabliſhment has not yet acquired any importance, and there is all the reaſon imaginable to believe, that it will never become conſiderable.

CHANDERNAGORE, which lies two leagues and an half higher, belongs to the French. It has the diſadvantage of being ſomewhat expoſed on the weſtern ſide; but it's harbour is excellent, and the air is as pure as it can be on the banks of the Ganges. Whenever any building is undertaken that requires ſtrength, it muſt here, as well as in all other parts of Bengal, be built upon piles; it being impoſſible to dig to three or four feet deep without coming at water. We find upon this diſtrict, which is hardly a league in circumference, ſome few manufacturers, whom perſecution has driven here, as into the other European factories.

* 833,333l. 6s. 8d.

AT

At the diſtance of a mile from Chandernagore, is Chinſura, better know'n by the name of Hugley, being ſituated near the ſuburbs of that antiently renowned city. The Dutch have no other poſſeſſions there, but merely their fort; the territory round it, depending on the government of the country, which hath frequently made it feel it's power by it's extortions. Another inconvenience attending this ſettlement is a ſand-bank that prevents ſhips from coming up to it; they proceed no further than Tulta, which is twenty miles below Calcutta, and this of courſe occaſions an additional expence to the government.

The Portugueſe had formerly made Bandel, which is eighty leagues from the mouth of the Ganges, and a quarter of a league above Hughley, the principal ſeat of their commerce. Their flag is ſtill diſplayed, and there are a few unhappy wretches remaining there, who have forgotten their country, after having been forgotten by it.

Except in the months of October, November, and December, when the frequent and almoſt continued hurricanes render the Gulph of Bengal impracticable, European ſhips may enter the Ganges during the remainder of the year. Thoſe that deſign to go up the river, previouſly touch at Point Palmiras, where they are received by pilots of their own nation, who reſide at Balaſore. The money they convey is put on board ſome ſloops, called bots, of between ſixty and a hundred tons burthen, which always precede the ſhips. The paſſage into the river Hughley lies through a narrow

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row ſtrait between two ſand-banks. The ſhips uſed formerly to come to an anchor at Culpy, but time has wor'n off the dread of thoſe currents, quickſands, and ſhoals, that ſeemed to choke up the navigation of the river, and the ſhips have been brought up to their reſpective places of deſtination. This boldneſs has occaſioned many ſhipwrecks; but in proportion as more experience has been gained, and the ſpirit of obſervation has been carried further, accidents of that kind have been leſs frequent. It is to be hoped that the example of admiral Watſon, who ſailed as high as Chandernagore in a ſeventy-gun ſhip, will not be forgotten; as a proper attention to it would ſave a great deal of time, trouble, and expence.

Beside this great channel, there is another, by which goods may be brought from the places which furniſh them, to the principal ſettlement of each Company. For this purpoſe, a number of ſmall fleets are employed, conſiſting of eighty or a hundred veſſels, and ſometimes more. Theſe are manned with black or white ſoldiers, in order to check the inſatiable avarice of the Nabobs and Rajas they meet with in their paſſage. The goods purchaſed in the higher parts of the Ganges, at Patna and Caſſimbuzar, are carried down the river Hughley: thoſe purchaſed near the other branches of the Ganges, which are all navigable in the interior parts of the country, and communicate with each other, eſpecially towards the lower diviſion of that river, are conveyed into the Hughley by Rangafoula and Baratola, about fifteen or twenty

twenty leagues from the ſea. From thence they are carried up the ſtream to the principal ſettlement belonging to each nation.

THE exports from Bengal to Europe conſiſt of muſk, gum-lac, nicaragua-wood, pepper, cowries, and ſome other articles of leſs importance brought thither from other places. Thoſe that are the immediate produce of the country are borax, ſaltpetre, ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffs, muſlins, and ſeveral different ſorts of cottons.

THE borax, which is found in the province of Patna, is a ſaline ſubſtance, which the chymiſts in Europe have in vain attempted to counterfeit. Some of them conſider it as an alkaline ſalt, which is found completely formed in the rich country of Indoſtan; others will have it to be the produce of volcanoes, or ſubterraneous fires.

BE this as it may, the borax is of great uſe in the working of metals by facilitating their fuſion and purification. This ſubſtance being quickly vitrified by the action of fire, attracts the heterogeneous particles that are intermixed with theſe metals, and reduces them to droſs. The borax is likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary in the eſſaying of ores, and the ſoldering of metals. The Dutch alone have the ſecret of refining it, which is ſaid to have been communicated to them by ſome Venetian families that came to ſeek that liberty in the United Provinces which they did not enjoy under the tyranny of their own ariſtocratical government.

SALTPETRE is likewiſe the produce of Patna. It is extracted from a clay, which is either black, whitiſh, or red. The manner of refining it is by digging

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digging a large pit, in which the nitrous earth is depoſited, and diluted with a quantity of water, which is kept ſtirred till it comes to a conſiſtency. The water having draw'n out all the ſalts, and the groſſer parts ſubſiding at the bottom, the more fluid particles are taken out and put into another pit not ſo large as the former. This ſubſtance having undergone a ſecond purification, the clear water that ſwims on the top, and is totally impregnated with nitre, is taken off, and boiled in caldrons; it is ſkimmed while it is boiling, and, in a few hours, a nitrous ſalt is obtained infinitely ſuperior to any that is found elſewhere. The Europeans export about ten millions of pounds for the uſe of their ſettlements in Aſia, or for home conſumption in their reſpective countries. It is bought upon the ſpot for three ſols a pound *, at the moſt, and is ſold again to us for ten †, at the leaſt.

CASSIMBUZAR, which is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajamahal, is the general market for Bengal ſilk, the greateſt part of which is ſupplied from that territory. The ſilk-worms are brought up and fed there in the ſame manner as in other places; but the heat of the climate hatches them, and brings them to perfection at all times of the year. A great many ſtuffs, made entirely of ſilk, or of ſilk and cotton mixed, are manufactured here. The firſt of theſe are moſtly conſumed at Delhi, or in our northern regions, the reſt in ſeveral countries of Aſia. With regard to the unwrought ſilk, the quantity conſumed in

* 1d. $\frac{1}{2}$ † 5d.

the

the European manufacture may be be eſtimated at three or four hundred pounds weight: but for a few years paſt, the Engliſh carry away great quantities of it for their own uſe, and that of other nations; it is in general a very common ſort, ill twiſted, and takes no gloſs in dying. It is of little uſe except for the woof in brocades.

Cotton is brought to much greater perfection; it is fit for every thing, and is uſefully employed in a variety of different manufactures, which are conſumed over the whole globe. That for which there is the moſt univerſal demand, and which more particularly comes from Bengal, is plain, ſtriped, or worked muſlin. It is eaſily manufactured in the rainy ſeaſon, becauſe then the materials are more flexible, and don ot break ſo readily. The weavers, during the reſt of the year, ſupply, as much as poſſible, this moiſture in the air, by veſſels full of water, which they take care to put under their looms.

Although the manufactures in which the cottons are prepared, are diſperſed throughout the greateſt part of Bengal, Dacca may be conſidered as the general market of them. 'Till of late, Delhi and Muxadavad were furniſhed from thence with the cottons wanted for their own conſumption. They each of them maintain an agent on the ſpot to ſuperintend the manufacture of them; who has an authority, independent of the magiſtrate, over all the workmen, whoſe buſineſs has any relation to the object of his commiſſion. It was a misfortune to them to appear too dexterous, becauſe they were then forced to work only for

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the government, which paid them ill, and kept them in a ſort of captivity. When the caprices of tyranny were ſatisfied, Europeans, other ſtrangers, and natives, were allowed to begin their purchaſes: but ſtill they were obliged to employ brokers eſtabliſhed by the miniſtry, and as corrupt as they were. Theſe reſtraints and rigours put an end to induſtry, the child of neceſſity, but the companion of liberty.

The revolutions which have given new ſovereigns to Bengal, ought to have introduced other maxims. Nevertheleſs, we do not ſee that the works that come from thence, are more perfect than they were before that period. It is poſſible that thoſe who fabricate them, may not really have experienced any change of condition. When they ceaſed to be the ſlaves of their Nabobs, they fell perhaps under a yoke equally oppreſſive.

All the purchaſes made in Bengal by the European nations, amounted, a few years ago, to no more than 20,000,000 of livres*. One-third of this ſum was paid in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and Dutch ſpices: the remainder was diſcharged in money. Since the Engliſh have made themſelves maſters of this rich country, it's exports have been increaſed, and it's imports diminiſhed, becauſe the conquerors have carried away a greater quantity of merchandiſe, and have paid for it out of the revenues they receive from the country. There is reaſon to believe, that this revolution in the trade of Bengal has not arrived at it's criſis, and that ſooner or later it

* 833,333l. 6s. 8d.

will

will be attended with more important conſequences and effects.

What opinion may be formed of the Engliſh ſettlement at St. Helena.

To maintain their intercourſe with this vaſt country, and their other Aſiatic ſettlements, the Engliſh Company have fixed upon St. Helena as a place of refreſhment. This iſland, which is only twenty-eight miles in circumference, is ſituated in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from the coaſt of Africa, and ſix hundred from that of America. It is an irregular maſs of rocks and mountains, where at every ſtep we meet with evident traces of an extinguiſhed volcano. It was diſcovered in 1602 by the Portugueſe, who paid no attention to it. The Dutch afterwards formed a ſmall ſettlement upon the iſland, which they were diſpoſſeſſed of by the Engliſh, who have been fixed there ever ſince the year 1673.

Upon this barren and wild ſoil, a population has gradually been formed, of twenty thouſand ſouls, freemen or ſlaves. Here, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, the number of females born exceeds greatly that of males. If it were proved, by accurate calculations, that the proceſs of nature is the ſame in all hot countries, this information would account for the public manners, and the private cuſtoms, of the people that dwell there.

None of the fruit trees exported from our climates to St. Helena have ſucceeded, except the peach tree. The vine has not proſpered there; and the vegetables have been conſtantly devoured by inſects; while a ſmall quantity only of

of the corn is preſerved from the attacks of the mice. The breeding of horned cattle has been the only reſource; and it is even only after the loſs of a great number, that the propagation has been ſucceſsful.

The climate deſtroyed every ſpecies of ſeed that was ſow'n by the cultivator. The idea was then ſuggeſted of planting ſhrubs, which could neither be injured by the heat, nor by the dryneſs of the ſoil, and under their ſhade, a freſh and wholeſome green ſod made it's appearance. This graſs, however, has never been able to feed more than three thouſand oxen at a time; a number inſufficient for the wants of the inhabitants, and of the navigators. This deficiency might perhaps be ſupplied, by having recourſe to artificial meadows, which intelligent travellers believe to be practicable in the preſent ſtate of things. But this plan will not be eaſily purſued, unleſs the mother country ſhould make a ſacrifice of the beſt lands, which have been apparently reſerved for it's ſervice, although in reality they are only kept for the advantage or the caprices of it's agents.

The houſes that ſurround the harbour, ſcattered, as it were, by the hand of chance, give the idea rather of a camp than of a town. The fortifications that ſurround them are inconſiderable; and the garriſon appointed to defend them, conſiſts only of five hundred ſoldiers, all diſſatisfied with their ſituation. The colony has but few refreſhments, and ſome oxen to give to the ſhips, in exchange for the proviſions and merchandiſe they bring from Europe and Aſia. Accordingly, fiſh

is

is the ordinary food of the blacks there, and makes great part of the nouriſhment of the white men.

SUCH is, according to the ſtricteſt truth, the ſtate of St. Helena, where the ſhips put in on their return from India to England, and where, in time of war, they find a convoy. The outward bound ſhips are even repulſed from there by the winds and currents. To avoid the inconveniences attending ſo long a voyage, made without ſtopping, ſeveral of them put in at the Cape of Good Hope; the reſt, particularly thoſe which are deſtined for the Malabar coaſt, take in refreſhments at the iſlands of Comora.

The uſe the Engliſh make of the iſlands of Comora.

THESE iſlands, that lie in the Mozambique channel, between the coaſt of Zanguebar and Madagaſcar, are four in number: Comora, the principal one, from which this ſmall archipelago takes it's name, is little know'n. The Portugueſe, who diſcovered it in the courſe of their firſt expeditions, brought the name of Europeans into ſuch deteſtation by their cruelties, that all who have ſince ventured to go on ſhore there, have either been maſſacred or very ill treated. It has accordingly been quite forſaken. The iſlands of Mayota and Moely, are not more frequented, on account of the difficulty of approaching them, and the want of a ſafe anchorage. The Engliſh veſſels put in at the iſland of Joanna.

HERE it is that, within the compaſs of thirty leagues, nature diſplays all her riches, with all her ſimplicity. Hills that are ever green, and vallies that are always gay, every where preſent a variety

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of delightful landſcapes. Thirty thouſand inhabitants, diſtributed into ſeventy-three villages, ſhare it's productions. They ſpeak the Arabic language, and their religion is a very corrupt ſort of Mohammediſm; their moral principles are more refined than they uſually are in this part of the globe. The habit they have contracted of living upon milk and vegetables has given them an unconquerable averſion for labour. This lazineſs is the cauſe of a particular air of conſequence, which conſiſts, among perſons of diſtinction, in ſuffering the nails to grow to an immoderate length. In order that this negligence may have the appearance of beauty, they tinge their nails with a yellowiſh red, which they extract from a ſhrub.

These people, born to be indolent, have loſt that liberty which they, doubtleſs, came hither to enjoy from a neighbouring continent, of which they were the original inhabitants. An Arabian trader, not quite a century ago, having killed a Portugueſe gentleman at Mozambique, threw himſelf into a boat, which chance conducted to Joanna. This ſtranger made ſuch good uſe of his ſuperior abilities, and the aſſiſtance of a few of his countrymen, that he acquired an abſolute authority, which is ſtill maintained by his grandſon. The change in the government did not in the leaſt diminiſh the liberty and ſecurity enjoyed by the Engliſh, who landed upon the iſland. They continued to put their ſick on ſhore without moleſtation, where the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the excellence of the fruits, proviſions, and water, ſoon reſtored

them to health. They were only obliged to give a higher price for the proviſions they wanted, for which the following reaſons may be aſſigned:

THE Arabians having been induced to frequent an iſland governed by an Arab, have brought the Indian manufactures into vogue; and as the cowries, cocoa-nuts, and other commodities they received in exchange, were not ſufficient to defray the expence of this article of luxury, the iſlanders have been obliged to demand money for their goats and poultry, which they before exchanged for glaſs beads, and other trifles of as little value. This innovation has not, however, made the Engliſh deſert a place of refreſhment, which has no other inconvenience, than that of being at too great a diſtance from our latitudes.

The Engliſh Company leave the country trade to private adventurers.

A SIMILAR inconvenience did not prevent the Engliſh Company from extending their trade very conſiderably. The intercourſe carried on between one port of India and another was too confined, and of too little conſequence, to engage their attention for any length of time. They were ſoon ſufficiently enlightened to perceive that it was not for their intereſt to continue this kind of commerce. Their agents undertook it, with the conſent of the Company, upon their own account; and all the Engliſh were invited to ſhare it, upon condition of entering into a bond for 45,000 livres*, as a ſecurity for their good behaviour. To facilitate and haſten the proſperity which was one day to increaſe their own, the Company en-

* 1,875l.

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couraged theſe traders, by taking a ſhare in their expeditions, and by giving them an intereſt in their own fleets, and frequently even undertaking to be the carriers of their merchandiſe at a low freight. This generous behaviour reſulting from a national ſpirit, and ſo diametrically oppoſite to the ſpirit of monopoly, ſoon gave activity, ſtrength, and credit, to the Engliſh ſettlements.

PRIVATE trade has increaſed with the proſperities of the power that ſupports it, and has contributed in it's turn to give that power more ſolidity. It employs at preſent three conſiderable capitals, and about two hundred veſſels, from fifty to two hundred tons burthen, which have all Indian ſailors on board. The number of them would ſtill have been increaſed, if the Company had not exacted, in all it's factories, a tax of five per cent. on all articles of free trade, and one of eight and a half per cent. on all remittances which the agents of this traffic wiſhed to make to the mother country. When their neceſſities did not compel them to remit part of theſe unreaſonable demands, theſe particular funds were given up to other European merchants, or to Engliſh officers, who, not being ſtrictly dependent upon the Company, could traffic for themſelves in the voyages they undertook for them.

Reſtraints experienced by the Company in their trade: Capital they beſtowed upon it; and degree of extenſion they gave it.

IF individuals were oppreſſed by the mother country, that was confined in it's turn by the regulations of the treaſury. The ſhips of the Company were always to return into an Engliſh port; and thoſe which brought prohibited merchandiſe, to London. By a ſingular regulation, unworthy

unworthy of a commercial people, and which it has always been found neceſſary to break through, they were allowed to ſend into India no more than 6,750,000 livres* in money. They were obliged to export, in merchandiſe of the country, to ten times the value of what they ſent in ſpecie. All the productions of Aſia that were conſumed by the nation, were to pay five and twenty per cent. to the public treaſury, and ſome a great deal more.

ALTHOUGH the ignorance, or the capacity of the different adminiſtrators; the events of peace and war; the proſperity or the misfortunes of the mother country; the greater or leſs demand for Indian manufactures in Europe; and the degree of competition experienced from other nations, may have had conſiderable influence on the number and utility of the Company's expeditions: yet it may be ſaid, that their commerce has been more extenſive and proſperous, in proportion to the increaſe of their capital. At firſt, it conſiſted only of 1,620,000 livres†. This trifling fund was gradually increaſed, by that ſhare of the profits that was not ſubject to a dividend, and by the ſums, more or leſs conſiderable, throw'n in by new proprietors. It had ariſen to 8,322,547 livres, ten ſols‡, when, in 1676, the directors thought it better to double it, than to order an immenſe dividend, which their ſucceſs enabled them to make. This capital continued increaſing, till the two Companies that had ſo obſtinately oppoſed each other, threw

* 281,250l. † 67,500l. ‡ 346,772l. 16s. 3d.

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their wealth, their plans, and their expectations, into one common ſtock. It has ſince riſen to 67,500,000 livres *. With this capital the proviſions and merchandiſe which India furniſhes in ſo great abundance, were bought. Theſe were conſumed in Great Britain, in it's African factories, in it's colonies of the New World, and in ſeveral parts of Europe. In proceſs of time tea became one of the great objects of this trade.

This herb was introduced into England by the Lords Arlington and Oſſory, who imported it from Holland in 1666, and their ladies brought it into faſhion among people of their own rank. At that time it ſold in London for near ſeventy livres † a pound, though it coſt but three or four ‡ at Batavia. Notwithſtanding the price was kept up with very little variation, the taſte for this liquor gained ground; it was not, however, brought into common uſe till towards the year 1715, when green tea began to be drunk, whereas till then no ſort was know'n but the bohea. The fondneſs for this Aſiatic plant has ſince become univerſal. Perhaps, the phrenzy is not without it's inconveniences; but it cannot be denied, that it has contributed more to the ſobriety of the nation than the ſevereſt laws, the moſt eloquent harangues of chriſtian orators, or the beſt treatiſes of morality.

In 1766 ſix millions of pounds of tea were brought from China by the Engliſh, four millions five hundred thouſand by the Dutch, two millions

* 2,812,500l. † 2l. 18s. 4d. ‡ From 2s. 6d. to 3s. 4d.

four

four hundred thouſand by the Swedes, the ſame quantity by the Danes, and two millions one hundred thouſand by the French. The whole of theſe quantities amounted to ſeventeen millions four hundred thouſand pounds. The preference given by moſt nations to chocolate, coffee, and other liquors, joined to a ſeries of obſervations carefully purſued for ſeveral years, and the moſt exact calculations that can poſſibly be made in ſuch complicated caſes, inclines us to think that the whole conſumption throughout Europe did not exceed, at that period, five millions four hundred thouſand pounds. In this caſe, that of Great Britain muſt have been of twelve millions.

It is univerſally allowed, that there are at leaſt two millions of people in the mother-country, and a million in the colonies, which conſtantly drink tea. Each individual conſumed about four pounds in a year; and each pound, including the taxes, was ſold, one with another, for ſix livres ten ſols *. According to this calculation, the price of this commodity muſt have amounted to ſeventy-two millions of livres †; but this was not exactly the caſe; becauſe half the quantity was ſmuggled, and therefore coſt the nation much leſs.

The war between Great-Britain and North America, has obliged the Company to diminiſh it's imports of tea. But this circumſtance has not affected their trade. The deficiency has been ſupplied by a greater quantity of ſilks furniſhed by China and Bengal, and by the increaſe they

* 5s. 5d. † 3,000,000 l.

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have given to the ſales they commonly uſed to make of the productions and manufactures of Coromandel and Malabar. Their chief reſource, however, has been the conqueſt of Bengal, an event rather of a recent date.

Conqueſt of Bengal. How, and by whom it was made.

SHOULD it be aſked, Whether this aſtoniſhing revolution, which has had ſo ſenſible an influence, both upon the fate of the inhabitants of this part of Aſia, and upon the trade of the European nations in theſe climates, hath been the conſequence and reſult of a ſeries of political combinations; or whether it be one of thoſe events, of which prudence has a right to boaſt; we ſhall anſwer in the negative. Chance alone has determined it: and the circumſtances that have opened this field of glory and power to the Engliſh, far from promiſing them the ſucceſs they have had, ſeemed on the contrary to threaten them with the moſt fatal reverſe of fortune.

A PERNICIOUS cuſtom had for ſome time prevailed in theſe countries. The governors of all the European ſettlements took upon them to grant an aſylum to ſuch of the natives of the country as were afraid of oppreſſion or puniſhment. As they received very conſiderable ſums in return for their protection, they overlooked the danger to which the intereſts of their principals were expoſed by this proceeding. One of the chief officers of Bengal, who was apprized of this reſource, took refuge among the Engliſh at Calcutta to avoid the puniſhment due to his treachery. He was taken under their protection. The ſubah, juſtly irritated, put himſelf at the head

head of his army, attacked the place, and took it. He threw the garriſon into a cloſe dungeon, where they were ſuffocated in the ſpace of twelve hours. Three and twenty of them only remained alive. Theſe wretched people offered large ſums to the keeper of their priſon, to prevail upon him to get their deplorable ſituation repreſented to the prince. Their cries and lamentations were ſufficient informations to the people, who were touched with compaſſion; but no one would venture to addreſs the deſpotic monarch upon the ſubject. The expiring Engliſh were told that he was ASLEEP; and there was not, perhaps, a ſingle perſon in Bengal who thought that the tyrant's ſlumbers ſhould be interrupted for one moment, even to preſerve the lives of one hundred and fifty unfortunate men.

WHAT then is a tyrant? Or rather, what are a people accuſtomed to the yoke of tyranny? Is it reſpect, or fear, that makes them bend under it? If it be fear, the tyrant then is more formidable than God, to whom man addreſſes his prayers, or his complaints, at all times of the night, or at every hour of the day. If it be reſpect, mankind may then be brought even to revere the authors of their miſery, a prodigy which ſuperſtition alone could accompliſh. Which is it that aſtoniſhes us moſt; the ferocity of the Nabob who ſleeps, or the meanneſs of him who dares not awake him?

ADMIRAL Watſon, who was juſt arrived in India with his ſquadron, and Colonel Clive who had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war

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war of the Carnatic, did not delay to avenge the cauſe of their country. They collected the Engliſh who had been diſperſed, and were flying from place to place; they went up the Ganges in the month of December 1756, retook Calcutta, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other places, and gained a complete victory over the ſubah.

A SUCCESS ſo rapid and extenſive becomes in a manner inconceivable, when we conſider that it was only with a body of five hundred men that the Engliſh were acting againſt the whole force of Bengal. But if their ſuperiority was partly owen to their better diſcipline, and to other evident advantages that the Europeans have in battle over the Indian powers; the ambition of eaſtern chiefs, the avarice of their miniſters, and the nature of a government which has no other ſprings but thoſe of the intereſt of the moment, and fear, were of ſtill more effectual ſervice to them; they availed themſelves of the concurrence of theſe ſeveral circumſtances in this firſt, as well as in every ſucceeding enterprize. The ſubah was deteſted by all his people, as tyrants generally are; the principal officers ſold their intereſt to the Engliſh; he was betrayed at the head of his army, the greateſt part of which refuſed to engage; and he himſelf fell into the hands of his enemies, who cauſed him to be ſtrangled in priſon.

THEY diſpoſed of the ſubahſhip in favour of Jaffier-Ally-Khan, the ringleader of the conſpiracy; who ceded to the company ſome provinces, with a grant of every privilege, exemption, and favour,

favour, to which they could have any pretenſion. But ſoon growing weary of the yoke he had impoſed upon himſelf, he was ſecretly contriving the means to free himſelf from it. His deſigns were diſcovered, and he was taken priſoner in the center of his own capital.

COSSIM-ALLY-KHAN, his ſon-in-law, was proclaimed in his ſtead. He had purchaſed this uſurpation with immenſe ſums. But he did not enjoy it long. Impatient of the yoke, as his predeceſſor had been, he gave ſome tokens of his diſpoſition, and refuſed to ſubmit to the laws the Company impoſed upon him. The war immediately broke out again. The ſame Jaffier-Ally-Khan, whom the Engliſh kept in confinement, was again proclaimed ſubah of Bengal. They marched againſt Coſſim-Ally-Khan. His general officers were corrupted: he was betrayed and entirely defeated: too happy, that while he loſt his dominions, he ſtill preſerved the immenſe treaſures he had amaſſed.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, Coſſim-Ally did not forego his hopes of vengeance. Fired with reſentment, he went, with all his riches, to the nabob of Bennares, chief vizir of the Mogul empire. This nabob, and all the neighbouring princes, united themſelves againſt the common enemy: but the conteſt at preſent was not with a handful of Europeans from the coaſt of Coromandel, but with all the forces of Bengal, of which the Engliſh were maſters. Elated with their ſucceſs, they did not wait to be attacked; they marched immediately to oppoſe this formi-

dable

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dable league; and they marched with that confidence which Clive inſpired them with; a leader, whoſe name ſeemed to have become the pledge of victory. Clive, however, would not hazard an engagement. Part of the campaign was ſpent in negociations; but at length the treaſures which the Engliſh had already draw'n from Bengal, ſerved to enſure them new conqueſts. The heads of the Indian army were corrupted; and when the nabob of Bennares was deſirous of coming to action, he was obliged to fly with his men, without ever being able to engage.

By this victory, the country of Bennares fell into the hands of the Engliſh: and it ſeemed as if nothing could hinder them from annexing that ſovereignty to that of Bengal: but either from motives of moderation or prudence, they were content to levy eight millions * by contribution; and they offered peace to the nabob on conditions which would render him incapable of doing them any injury: but, ſuch as they were, he moſt readily agreed to them, that he might regain the poſſeſſion of his dominions.

In the midſt of theſe calamities, Coſſim-Ally Khan ſtill found means to preſerve part of his treaſures, and retired to the Seiks, a people ſituated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, from whence he made an attempt to procure ſome allies, and to raiſe up enemies againſt the Engliſh.

While theſe things were paſſing in Bengal, the Mogul emperor having been driven from Delhi

* 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

by

by the Pattans, who had proclaimed his ſon in his room, was wandering from one province to another in ſearch of a place of refuge in his own territories, and vainly requeſting ſuccour from his own vaſſals. Abandoned by his ſubjects, betrayed by his allies, without ſupport, and without an army, he was ſtruck by the power of the Engliſh, and implored their protection; they promiſed to conduct him to Delhi, and reinſtate him on his throne; but they inſiſted that he ſhould previouſly cede to them the abſolute ſovereignty over Bengal. This ceſſion was made by an authentic act, and attended with all the formalities uſually practiſed throughout the Mogul empire.

The Engliſh, poſſeſſed of this title, which was to give a kind of legitimacy to their uſurpation in the eyes of the people, ſoon forgot the promiſes they had made. They gave the Mogul to underſtand, that particular circumſtances would not ſuffer them to engage in ſuch an enterpriſe; that they muſt wait for more favourable times; and they aſſigned him a place of reſidence, and a revenue to ſubſiſt upon. The Mogul empire was then divided between two emperors; one acknowledged in the ſeveral diſtricts of India, where the Engliſh Company had any eſtabliſhments and authority; the other in the provinces bordering on Delhi, and in thoſe parts to which the influence of that Company did not extend.

The Engliſh, thus become ſovereigns of Bengal, have thought it incumbent on them to keep up the ſhadow of ancient forms, in a country,

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where they are the greateſt, and, perhaps, the only power, that is likely to be ſecure and laſting. They governed the kingdom, and received the revenues of it, under the name of a ſubah, who, while he was at their diſpoſal, and in their pay, ſeemed to give his own orders. It is from him that all the public acts and decrees, which had really been deliberated in the council of Calcutta, appeared to proceed; ſo that the people, notwithſtanding their change of maſters, have for a conſiderable time been induced to believe, that they were ſtill under the ſame yoke.

STRANGE indignity, to wiſh to exerciſe oppreſſion, without appearing unjuſt; to be deſirous of reaping the fruits of one's rapine, and to throw the odium of it upon another. Not to bluſh at acts of tyranny, and yet to bluſh at the name of tyrant. How wicked is man, and how much more flagitious would he be, if he could be convinced that his crimes would remain unknow'n, and that the puniſhment or ignominy of them, would fall upon an innocent perſon.

THE conqueſt of Bengal, the boundaries of which have ſince that period been extended, as far as that heap of mountains which ſeparate the Thibet and Tartary from Indoſtan, without making any eſſential alteration in the external form of the Engliſh Company, has produced a material change in the object of it. They are no longer a commercial ſociety, they are a territorial power which make the moſt of their revenues, by the aſſiſtance of a traffic that formerly was their ſole exiſtence, and which, notwithſtanding the extenſion

ſion it has received, is no more than an acceſſory in the various combinations of their preſent real grandeur.

Measures taken by the Engliſh to maintain themſelves in Bengal.

THE arrangements intended to give ſtability to a ſituation ſo proſperous, are, perhaps, the moſt reaſonable that can be. England has at preſent in India an eſtabliſhment to the amount of nine thouſand eight hundred European troops, and fifty-four thouſand ſipahis, well payed, well armed, and well diſciplined. Three thouſand of theſe Europeans, and twenty-five thouſand ſipahis are diſperſed along the borders of the Ganges.

THE moſt conſiderable body of theſe troops has been ſtationed in Bennares, once the ſource of Indian ſcience, and ſtill the moſt famous academy of theſe rich countries, where European avarice pays no reſpect to any thing. This ſituation has been choſen, becauſe it appeared favourable for ſtopping the progreſs of thoſe warlike people who might deſcend from the mountains of the north; and in caſe of attack, the maintaining of a war in a foreign territory would be leſs ruinous than in the countries of which the company is to receive the revenues. On the ſouth, as far as it has been found practicable, they have occupied all the narrow paſſes by which an enterpriſing and active enemy might attempt to penetrate into the province. Dacca, which is in the center of it, has under it's walls a conſiderable force always ready to march wherever it's preſence may be neceſſary. All the nabobs and rajahs who are dependent on the ſubahſhip of Bengal, are diſarmed, ſurrounded, by ſpies in order to diſcover

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cover their conſpiracies, and by troops, to render them ineffectual.

In caſe of any unfortunate revolution which might oblige the victorious power to change it's ſituation, and abandon it's poſts, the Engliſh have conſtructed a fort near Calcutta called Fort William, which, in times of urgent neceſſity, would ſerve as a place of refuge for the army, ſhould they be forced to retreat, and give time to wait for the neceſſary reinforcements for the recovery of their ſuperiority.

Notwithstanding the wiſe precautions taken by the Engliſh, they are not, and cannot be, without apprehenſions. The Mogul power may gain ſtrength, and wiſh to reſcue one of it's fineſt provinces out of the hands of a foreign oppreſſor. They have reaſon to fear that the barbarous nations may be again attracted by the ſoftneſs of the climate. The princes now at variance may, perhaps, put an end to their conteſts, and reunite in favour of their common liberty. It is not impoſſible but that the Indians, who at preſent conſtitute the chief force of the victorious Engliſh, may one day turn againſt them thoſe arms of which they have taught them the uſe. Their grandeur, which is but imaginary, may, perhaps, moulder away without their being actually driven from what they poſſeſs. It is well known that the Marattas have always their attention fixed upon this beautiful country, and are conſtantly threatening it with invaſion. Unleſs the Engliſh are ſucceſsful enough, either by bribery or intrigue, to divert this dangerous ſtorm, Bengal will be the

object

object of their pillage and rapine, whatever measures may be taken to oppoſe a light cavalry, the alertneſs of which exceeds every thing that can be ſaid of it. The incurſions of theſe plunderers may be repeated; and then the Company will have leſs tribute to receive, and their expences will be increaſed.

Can England flatter herſelf that the proſperity of Bengal will continue?

SUPPOSING, however, that none of the misfortunes we have ventured to foreſee, ſhould take place, is it likely that the revenues of Bengal, which, in 1773, aroſe to 71,004,465 livres*, but of which 61,379,437 livres ten ſols † have been abſorbed by plunder, or the neceſſary expences, ſhould always continue the ſame? This is, at leaſt, a matter of doubt. The Engliſh Company no longer export any coin, but even carry away ſome for the uſe of their factories. Their agents make incredible fortunes, and the private merchants conſiderable ones, which they go to the mother-country to enjoy. The other European nations find in the treaſures of this ruling power accommodations, which make it unneceſſary to introduce new bullion. Muſt not all theſe combined circumſtances neceſſarily occaſion a deficiency in the finances of thoſe countries, a void which will, ſooner or later, be perceived in the making up of the public accounts?

THAT period might indeed be protracted, if the Engliſh, reſpecting the rights of humanity, were at length to deliver thoſe countries from the oppreſſion under which they have continued to groan

* 2,958,519l. 7s. 6d. † 2,557,476l. 11s 3d.

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for ſo many ages. Then Calcutta, far from being an object of terror to the Indians, would become a tribunal always open to the complaints of thoſe unhappy ſufferers whom tyranny ſhould dare to moleſt. Property would be holden ſo ſacred, that the treaſure, which for ſo many years has been buried, would be taken out of the bowels of the earth, to ſerve the purpoſe of it's deſtination. Agriculture and manufactures would be encouraged to ſuch a degree, that the exports would become from day to day more conſiderable; and the Company, by following ſuch maxims as theſe, inſtead of being driven to the neceſſity of leſſening the tributes which they found eſtabliſhed, might poſſibly find means to bring about an augmentation conſiſtent with the general ſatisfaction of the natives. Let it not be ſaid that ſuch a plan is chimerical. The Engliſh Company itſelf has already proved the poſſibility of it.

Most of the European nations that have acquired any territory in India, generally chooſe for their farmers the natives of the country, from whom they exact ſuch conſiderable ſums in advance, that in order to pay them, they are obliged to borrow at an exorbitant intereſt. The diſtreſs which theſe greedy farmers voluntarily bring on themſelves, obliges them to exact of the inhabitants, to whom they let ſome parcels of the land below their value, ſo conſiderable a rent, that theſe unfortunate perſons quit their villages, and abandon them for ever. The contractor, ruined by this incident, which renders him inſolvent, is diſmiſſed to make room for a ſucceſſor,

who commonly meets with the ſame fate; ſo that it very frequently happens, that nothing but the firſt ſum depoſited, or very little more, is ever received.

DIFFERENT meaſures have been purſued in the Engliſh colonies, on the coaſt of Coromandel. It was obſerved that the villages had been formed by ſeveral families, who, for the moſt part, were connected with each other; this has been the reaſon why the cuſtom of employing farmers has been aboliſhed. Every land was taxed at a certain annual rent, and the head of the family was ſecurity for his relations and connexions. This method united the coloniſts one with another, and created in them a diſpoſition, as well as the power, of affording each other a reciprocal ſupport. This has occaſioned the ſettlements of that nation to riſe to the utmoſt degree of proſperity they were capable of attaining; while thoſe of her rivals were languiſhing for want of cultivation and manufactures, and conſequently of population.

WHY muſt a mode of conduct, which does ſo much honour to reaſon and humanity, be confined to the ſmall territory of Madras? Can it be true that moderation is a virtue that belongs only to a ſtate of mediocrity? The Engliſh Company, till theſe latter times, had always holden a conduct ſuperior to that of the other Companies. Their agents, their factors, were well choſen. The moſt part of them were young men of good families, who were not afraid, when the ſervice of their country called upon them, to croſs thoſe immenſe ſeas which England conſiders as a part of her

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empire. The Company had generally taken their commerce in a great point of view, and had almoſt always carried it on like an aſſociation of true politicians as well as a body of merchants. Upon the whole, their planters, merchants, and ſoldiers had preſerved more honeſty, more regularity, and more firmneſs than thoſe of the other nations.

Oppreſſions and cruelties exerciſed by the Engliſh in Bengal.

WHO would ever have imagined that this ſame Company, by a ſudden alteration of conduct, and change of ſyſtem, could poſſibly make the people of Bengal regret the deſpotiſm of their antient maſters? That fatal revolution has been but too ſudden and too real. A ſettled plan of tyranny has taken the place of authority occaſionally exerted. The exactions are become general and fixed, the oppreſſion continual and abſolute. The deſtructive arts of monopolies have been improved, and new ones have been invented. In a word, the Company have tainted and corrupted the public ſources of confidence and happineſs.

UNDER the government of the Mogul Emperors, the ſubahs, who had the care of the revenues, were, from the nature of the buſineſs, obliged to leave the receipt of them to Nabobs, Polygars, and Jemidars, who were a ſort of ſuperior ſecurity for other Indians, and theſe ſtill for others; ſo that the produce of the lands paſſed on, and was partly ſunk amidſt a multitude of intermediate hands, before it came into the coffers of the ſubah, who, on his part, delivered but a very ſmall portion of it to the emperor. This adminiſtration, faulty in many reſpects, had in it one favourable circumſtance for the people, that the farmers never

never being changed, the rent of the farms remained always the ſame; becauſe the leaſt increaſe, as it diſturbed the whole chain of advantage which every one received in his turn, would infallibly have occaſioned a revolt: a terrible reſource, but the only one left in favour of humanity, in countries groaning under the oppreſſions of deſpotic rulers.

It is probable that in the midſt of theſe regulations there were many acts of injuſtice and partial oppreſſions. But, at leaſt, as the aſſeſſment of the public monies was made at a fixed and moderate rate, emulation was not wholly extinguiſhed. The cultivators of the land being ſure of laying up the produce of their harveſt, after paying with exactneſs the rate of their farm, ſeconded the natural fertility of the ſoil by their labour; the weavers, maſters of the price of their works, being at liberty to make choice of the buyer who beſt ſuited them, exerted themſelves in extending and improving their manufactures. Both the one and the other, having no anxiety with regard to their ſubſiſtence, yielded with ſatisfaction to the moſt delightful inclinations of nature, or the prevailing propenſity of theſe climates; and beheld, in the increaſe of their family, one method of augmenting their riches. Such are evidently the reaſons why induſtry, agriculture, and population, have been carried to ſuch a height in the province of Bengal. It ſhould ſeem that they might ſtill be carried further under the government of a free people, friends to humanity; but the thirſt of gold, the moſt tormenting, the moſt cruel of all

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paſſions, has given riſe to a pernicious and deſtructive adminiſtration.

THE Engliſh, become ſovereigns of Bengal, not content with receiving the revenues on the ſame footing as the ancient ſubahs, have been deſirous at once to augment the produce of the farms, and to appropriate to themſelves the benefit of them. To accompliſh both theſe objects, they are become the farmers to their own ſubah, that is, to a ſlave on whom they have juſt conferred that empty title, the more ſecurely to impoſe upon the people. The conſequence of this new plan has been to pillage the farmers, in order to ſubſtitute in their room the Company's agents. They have alſo monopolized the ſale of ſalt, tobacco, and betel, articles of immediate neceſſity in thoſe countries, but they have done this under the name, and apparently on the account of the ſubah. They have gone ſtill further, and have obliged the very ſame ſubah to eſtabliſh in their favour an excluſive privilege for the ſale of cotton brought from any other province, in order to raiſe it to an exorbitant price. They have augmented the cuſtoms, and have at length cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, which forbids every European, except the Engliſh, from trading in the interior parts of Bengal.

WHEN we reflect on this cruel prohibition, it ſeems as if it had been contrived only to deprive of every power of miſchief that unfortunate country, whoſe proſperity, for their own intereſt, ought to be the only object of the Engliſh Company. Beſides, it is eaſy to ſee that the perſonal avarice

avarice of the members of the council at Calcutta has dictated that ſhameful law. Their deſign was to enſure to themſelves the produce of all the manufactures, in order to compel the merchants of other nations, who choſe to trade from one part of India to another, to purchaſe theſe articles of them at an exorbitant price, or to renounce their undertakings.

But ſtill, in the midſt of this overbearing conduct, ſo contrary to the advantage of their conſtituents, theſe treacherous agents have attempted to diſguiſe themſelves under the maſk of zeal. They have pretended, that as they were under the neceſſity of exporting to England a quantity of merchandiſe proportioned to the extent of her commerce, the competition of private traders was prejudicial to the purchaſes of the Company.

Under the ſame pretence, and in order to extend this excluſion to the foreign ſettlements while they appear to reſpect their rights, they have of late years ordered more merchandiſe than Bengal could furniſh. At the ſame time the weavers have been forbidden to work for other nations until the Engliſh Company's orders were completed. Thus the workmen, not being any longer at liberty to chooſe among the ſeveral purchaſers, have been forced to deliver the fruits of their labour at any price they could get for them.

Let us conſider too in what coin theſe workmen have been paid. Here reaſon is confounded; and we are at a loſs for excuſes or pretexts.

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The Engliſh, conquerors of Bengal, poſſeſſors of the immenſe treaſures which the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and the induſtry of the inhabitants had collected, have debaſed themſelves ſo far as to alter the value of the ſpecie. They have ſet the example of this meanneſs unknow'n to the deſpotic rulers of Aſia; and it is by this diſgraceful act that they have announced to the natives their ſovereignty over them. An operation, indeed, ſo contrary to the principles of trade and public faith, could not ſubſiſt for any length of time. The Company themſelves found the pernicious effects of it, and were reſolved to call in all the baſe coin, in order to replace it with other money, exactly the ſame as that which was always current in thoſe countries. But let us attend to the manner in which ſo neceſſary an alteration was conducted.

They had ſtruck in gold rupees to the amount of about fifteen millions * nominal value, but which repreſented, in fact, but nine millions †; for four tenths, or ſomething more, was alloy. All who were found to poſſeſs theſe gold rupees of falſe alloy, were enjoined to bring them into the treaſury at Calcutta, where they ſhould be reimburſed for them in ſilver rupees; but inſtead of ten rupees and a half of ſilver, which each gold rupee ought to be worth according to it's rate, they gave them but ſix; ſo that the amount of the alloy became the clear loſs of the creditor.

An oppreſſion ſo general muſt neceſſarily be attended with violence; and conſequently it has

* 625,000 l. † 375,000 l.

been

been neceſſary ſeveral times to have recourſe to force of arms to carry into execution the orders of the council at Culcutta. Theſe forces have not been employed againſt the Indians alone; tumults have alſo broken out, and military preparations been made on all ſides, even in the midſt of peace. The Europeans have been expoſed to ſignal acts of hoſtility, and particularly the French, who, notwithſtanding their being ſo reduced, and ſo weak, have ſtill excited the jealouſy of their former rivals.

If to this picture of public oppreſſions, we were to add that of private extortions, we ſhould find the agents of the Company, almoſt every where, exacting their tribute with extreme rigour, and raiſing contributions with the utmoſt cruelty. We ſhould ſee them carrying a kind of inquiſition into every family, and ſitting in judgment upon every fortune; robbing indiſcriminately the artiſan and the labourer, imputing it often to a man as a crime that he is not ſufficiently rich, and puniſhing him accordingly. We ſhould view them ſelling their favour and their credit, as well to oppreſs the innocent, as to ſkreen the guilty. We ſhould find, in conſequence of theſe irregularities, deſpair ſeizing every heart, and an univerſal dejection getting the better of every mind, and uniting to put a ſtop to the progreſs and activity of commerce, agriculture, and population.

It will be thought, without doubt, after theſe details, it was impoſſible that Bengal ſhould have freſh evils to dread. But, however, as if the elements,

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ments, in league with mankind, had intended to bring all at once upon the ſame people every calamity that by turns lays waſte the univerſe, a drought, of which there never had been an inſtance in thoſe climates, came upon them, and prepared the way for a moſt dreadful famine in a country of all the moſt fertile.

In Bengal there are two harveſts; one in April, the other in October. The firſt, called the little harveſt, conſiſts of the ſmaller grain; the ſecond, ſtiled the grand harveſt, is ſingly of rice. The rains, which commence regularly in the month of Auguſt, and end in the middle of October, are the occaſion of theſe different productions; and it was by a drought, which happened in 1769, at the ſeaſon when the rains are expected, that there was a failure in the great harveſt of 1769, and the leſs harveſt of 1770. It is true, that the rice on the higher grounds did not ſuffer greatly by this diſturbance of the ſeaſons, but there was far from a ſufficient quantity for the nouriſhment of all the inhabitants of the country; add to which, the Engliſh, who were engaged before-hand to take proper care of their ſubſiſtence, as well as of that of the ſipahis belonging to them, did not fail to keep locked up in their magazine a part of this harveſt, though it was already inſufficient.

They have been accuſed of having made a very bad uſe of that neceſſary foreſight, in order to carry on the moſt odious and the moſt criminal of all monopolies. It may be true that ſuch a horrid method of acquiring riches may have

tempted ſome individuals; but that the chief agents of the Company, that the Council of Calcutta could have adopted and ordered ſuch a deſtructive ſcheme; that, to gain a few millions of rupees, the Council ſhould coolly have devoted to deſtruction ſeveral millions of their fellow-creatures, and by the moſt cruel means; this is a circumſtance we never can give credit to. We even venture to pronounce it impoſſible; becauſe ſuch wickedneſs could never enter at once into the minds and hearts of a ſet of men, whoſe buſineſs it is to deliberate and act for the good of others.

THIS calamity, however, was ſoon felt throughout the extent of Bengal. Rice, which was commonly ſold at one ſol * for three pounds, increaſed gradually till it came ſo high as to be ſold at four ſols † per pound, and it has even riſen to five or ſix ſols ‡; neither indeed was there any to be found, except in ſuch places where the Europeans had taken care to collect it for their own uſe.

THE unhappy Indians were every day periſhing by thouſands in this famine, without any means of help and without any reſource, not being able to procure themſelves the leaſt nouriſhment. They were to be ſeen in their villages, along the public ways, in the midſt of our European colonies, pale, meagre, fainting, emaciated, conſumed by famine; ſome ſtretched on the ground in expectation of dying, others ſcarce able to

* ½. † 2d. ‡ About 3d.

drag

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drag themſelves on to ſeek for any food, and throwing themſelves at the feet of the Europeans, intreating them to take them in as their ſlaves.

To this deſcription, which makes humanity ſhudder, let us add other objects equally ſhocking; let imagination enlarge upon them, if poſſible; let us repreſent to ourſelves infants deſerted, ſome expiring on the breaſt of their mothers; every where the dying and the dead mingled together; on all ſides the groans of ſorrow, and the tears of deſpair; and we ſhall then have ſome faint idea of the horrible ſpectacle Bengal preſented for the ſpace of ſix weeks.

During this whole time the Ganges was covered with carcaſes; the fields and highways were choaked up with them; infectious vapours filled the air, and diſeaſes multiplied; and one evil ſucceeding another, it was likely to happen, that the plague might have carried off the remainder of the inhabitants of that unfortunate kingdom. It appears, by calculations pretty generally acknowleged, that the famine carried off a fourth part; that is to ſay, about three millions.

But it is ſtill more remarkable, and ſerves to characteriſe the gentleneſs, or rather the indolence, as well moral as natural, of the natives, that amidſt this terrible diſtreſs, ſuch a multitude of human creatures, preſſed by the moſt urgent of all neceſſities, remained in an abſolute inactivity, and made no attempts whatever for their ſelf-preſervation. All the Europeans, eſpecially the Engliſh, were poſſeſſed of magazines. Theſe were

were even reſpected; as well as private houſes, no revolt, no maſſacre, nor the leaſt violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, reſigned to deſpair, confined themſelves to the requeſt of ſuccour they did not obtain, and peaceably waited the relief of death.

LET us now repreſent to ourſelves any part of Europe afflicted by a ſimilar calamity. What diſorder! what fury! what atrocious acts! what crimes would enſue! How ſhould we have ſeen among us Europeans, ſome contending for their food with their dagger in hand, ſome purſuing, ſome flying, and, without remorſe, maſſacring one another! How ſhould we have ſeen men at laſt turn their rage on themſelves, tearing and devouring their own limbs, and, in the blindneſs of deſpair, trampling under foot all authority, as well as every ſentiment of nature and reaſon!

HAD it been the fate of the Engliſh to have had the like events to dread on the part of the people of Bengal, perhaps the famine would have been leſs general and leſs deſtructive. For ſetting aſide, as perhaps we ought, every charge of monopoly, no one will undertake to defend them againſt the reproach of negligence and inſenſibility. And in what criſis have they merited that reproach? In the very inſtant of time when the life or death of ſeveral millions of their fellow-creatures was in their power. One would think that, in ſuch an alternative, the very love of humankind, that ſentiment innate in all hearts, might have inſpired them with reſources. Might not the poor wretches, expiring before the eyes of the

Europeans,

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Europeans, with reaſon have cried out, "Is it "then but for our ruin that you are fertile in ex- "pedients for your own preſervation? The im- "menſe treaſures which a long ſucceſſion of ages "had accumulated in this country, you have "made your own ſpoils; you have tranſported "them into your own country; you have levied "your contributions on us; you have got your "agents to receive them for you; your are maſ- "ters of our interior commerce; you are the "ſole managers of all our exported merchandiſe; "your numerous veſſels laden with the produce "of our induſtry and our ſoil, pour riches into "your factories, and into your colonies. All "theſe things you regulate, and you carry on "ſolely for your own advantage. But what have "you done for our preſervation? What ſteps "have you taken to remove from us the ſcourge "that threatened us? Deprived of all autho- "rity, ſtripped of our property, weighed down "by the terrible hand of power, we can only lift "our hands to you to implore your aſſiſtance. "Ye have heard our groans; ye have ſeen famine "making very quick advances upon us; and "then ye attended to your own preſervation. "Ye have hoarded up the ſmall quantity of pro- "viſions which eſcaped the peſtilence; ye have "filled your granaries with them, and diſtributed "them among your ſoldiers. But us, the ſad "dupes of your avarice, wretches in every re- "ſpect, as well by your tyranny as by your in- "difference, ye treat us like ſlaves, while ye "ſuppoſe we have any riches; but when it ap-

"pears

" pears we are but a ſet of beings full of wants, " then you no longer regard us even as human " creatures. Of what ſervice is it to us that you " have the management of our public forces en- " tirely in your hands? Where are the laws and " the morals of which ye are ſo proud? What " then is that government whoſe wiſdom you ſo " much boaſt of? Have ye put a ſtop to the pro- " digious exports made by your private traders? " Have ye changed the deſtination of your ſhips? " Have they traverſed the neighbouring ſeas in " ſearch of the means of ſubſiſtence for us? " Have ye requeſted it of the adjacent coun- " tries? Ah, why has Providence ſuffered you to " break the chain which attached us to our ancient " ſovereigns? Leſs graſping, and more humane " than ye are, they would have invited plenty " from all parts of Aſia; they would have open- " ed every communication; they would have la- " viſhed their treaſures, and have thought they " did but enrich themſelves while they preſerved " their ſubjects."

This laſt reflection, at leaſt, was calculated to make an impreſſion on the Engliſh, ſuppoſing even that every ſentiment of humanity was extinguiſhed in their hearts by the effects of depravity. The barrenneſs had been announced by a drought; and it is not to be doubted, that, if inſtead of having ſolely a regard to themſelves, and remaining in an entire negligence of every thing elſe, they had from the firſt taken every precaution in their power, they might have accompliſhed the preſervation of many lives that were loſt.

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It muſt be allowed, that the corruption to which the Engliſh gave themſelves up from the firſt beginning of their power, the oppreſſion which ſucceeded it, the abuſes every day multiplying, the entire loſs of all principle; all theſe circumſtances together form a contraſt totally inconſiſtent with their paſt conduct in India, and the real conſtitution of their government in Europe. But this ſort of problem in morals will be eaſily ſolved, upon conſidering with attention the natural effect of circumſtances and events.

Being now become abſolute rulers in an empire where they were but traders, it was very difficult for the Engliſh not to make a bad uſe of their power. At a diſtance from their country, men are no longer reſtrained by the fear of bluſhing before their countrymen. In a hot climate where the body loſes it's vigour, the mind muſt loſe ſome of it's ſtrength. In a country where nature and cuſtom lead to indulgence, men are apt to be ſeduced. In regions where they come for the purpoſe of enriching themſelves, they eaſily forget to be juſt.

Perhaps, however, in a ſituation ſo dangerous, the Engliſh would at leaſt have preſerved ſome appearance of moderation and virtue, had they been checked by the reſtraint of the laws: but there were none to direct or to bind them. The regulations made by the Company, for the carrying on of their commerce, were not applicable to this new arrangement of affairs; and the Engliſh government, conſidering the conqueſt of Bengal but as a help towards increaſing numerically the

revenue of Great Britain, gave up to the Company for 9,000,000 of livres * per annum the deſtiny of twelve millions of people.

These unfortunate victims of inſatiate cupidity, were oppreſſed with all the ſcourges that tyranny could collect; and the Company which ordered or connived at all theſe crimes, was not the leſs threatened with total ruin. This would have been completed, if, in 1773, authority had not ſtepped in to their aſſiſtance, and enabled them to fulfil the raſh engagements they had entered into; but the Parliament ordered that all the details of this corrupt adminiſtration ſhould be ſubmitted to it's inſpection; that the numerous frauds and violences which had been committed ſhould be publicly unmaſked; and that the rights of a whole people ſhould be weighed in the ſcale of liberty and juſtice.

Yes, auguſt legiſlators, ye will fulfil our expectations! Ye will reſtore mankind their rights; ye will put a curb on avarice, and break the yoke of tyranny. The immoveable authority of law, ſhall be ſubſtituted in all parts, to an adminiſtration merely arbitrary. At ſight of this authority, monopoly, that tyrant over induſtry, will for ever diſappear. The fetters which private intereſt has rivetted upon commerce, ye will ſtrike off in favour of general advantage.

You will not confine yourſelves to this momentary reformation. You will carry your views into futurity; you will calculate the influence of

* 375,000 l.

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climate, the danger of circumſtances, the contagion of example; and, to prevent their effects, you will ſelect perſons without connexions, without paſſions, to viſit theſe diſtant countries; iſſuing from the boſom of your metropolis, they are to paſs through theſe provinces, in order to hear complaints, rectify abuſes, redreſs injuries; in a word, to maintain and re-unite the ties of order throughout the country.

By the execution of this ſalutary plan, you will, without doubt, have done much towards the happineſs of theſe people; but not enough for your own honour. One prejudice you have ſtill to conquer, and that victory is worthy of yourſelves. Make your new ſubjects enjoy the ſweets of property. Portion out to them the fields on which they were born: they will learn to cultivate them for themſelves. Attached to you by theſe favours, more than ever they were by fear, they will pay with joy the tribute you impoſe with moderation. They will inſtruct their children to adore and admire your government; and ſucceſſive generations will tranſmit, with their inheritance, the ſentiments of their happineſs mixed with that of their gratitude.

Then ſhall the friends of mankind applaud your ſucceſs; they will indulge the hope of ſeeing proſperity once more revive in a country embelliſhed by nature, and no longer ravaged by deſpotiſm. It will be pleaſing to them to think that the calamities which afflicted thoſe fertile countries are for ever removed from them. They will pardon in you thoſe uſurpations, which have been

been only ſet on foot for the ſake of deſpoiling tyrants; and they will invite you to new conqueſts, when they ſee the influence of your ſublime conſtitution extending itſelf even to the very extremities of Aſia, to give birth to liberty, property, and happineſs.

Meaſures taken by the government, and by the Company itſelf, to put an end to depredations of all kinds.

LET us now inquire whether theſe hopes, founded upon the high opinion which the Britiſh legiſlature muſt neceſſarily inſpire us with, were realized. Firſt, to prevent an inevitable bankruptcy, the effects of which would have been ſpread to a great diſtance, the government permitted the Company to borrow 31,500,000 livres *, at an intereſt of four per cent. This ſum has been ſucceſſively reimburſed, and the laſt payment made in the month of December 1776.

THE parliament afterwards releaſed the Company from the annual tribute of 9,000,000 of livres †, which they paid to the treaſury ſince 1769. The period for the renewal of this contribution was not yet ſettled. It was only reſolved, that the proprietors ſhould not receive a dividend of more than eight per cent. without ſharing the overplus with the government.

THE fate of the proprietors alſo engaged the attention of government. The trade of India was ill underſtood, and conducted upon very uncertain principles, in the laſt century. The conſequence of this was, that, in ſome inſtances, enormous profits were made, and in others, conſiderable loſſes incurred. The dividends received

* 1,312,500l. † 375,000l.

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by the proprietors, were regulated by theſe fluctuations. In proceſs of time, theſe differences decreaſed, but the dividends were never equal. In 1708, they were no more than five per cent.; in 1709, they aroſe to eight, and in 1710, to nine. For eleven years ſubſequent to this, they remained at ten, and were at eight only from 1721 to 1731. From that period to 1743, they did not exceed ſeven per cent. From 1743 to 1756, they roſe to eight, but fell to ſix from 1756 to 1766. In 1767, they roſe to ten, and were increaſed ſucceſſively, by two per cent. more, the following years. In 1771, they were carried as far as twelve and a half; but eighteen months afterwards, the parliament reduced them to ſix, till the payment of 31,500,000 livres* was completed. The Company having fulfilled this engagement, raiſed their dividend to ſeven; and afterwards to eight, when they had paid off the half of their debt, know'n under the name of bills of contract, and which amounted to 67,500,000 livres†.

Since the origin of the Company, the proprietors have always choſen annually twenty-four perſons from among them, to conduct their affairs. Although theſe directors may be choſen three times ſucceſſively, and although thoſe who are moſt in repute frequently ſucceed in obtaining this advantage, yet they were too much dependent upon their conſtituents to form any connected plans, or to adopt any reſolute meaſures. The parliament ordered, that, for the future, every

* 1,312,500l. † 2,812,500l.

director

director ſhould remain for four years, and that the fourth part of the direction ſhould be renewed every year. BOOK III.

THE confuſion that prevailed in the deliberations, ſuggeſted the idea of another regulation. Hitherto, the public meetings had been tumultuous, becauſe every proprietor of 11,250 livres* had a right to vote. It was reſolved, that, for the future, this right ſhould only be granted to thoſe who had double that ſum. They were even compelled to affirm upon oath, that they were really proprietors of this capital, and had been ſo for a whole year.

IT is ſaid, that government had further views. They intended to reduce the number of directors to fifteen, to increaſe their appointments from 22,500 livres† to 45,000 livres‡, and to liberate them from the controul of the proprietors. If this plan, which was to give ſo much influence to miniſtry, has been really formed, ſome unforeſeen circumſtances muſt have prevented it from being carried into execution.

INDEPENDENT of the changes ordered by parliament, the Company itſelf made an arrangement of evident utility.

THIS great aſſociation, from their firſt origin, were ambitious of having a navy. It was annihilated when they renewed their commerce, in the time of the Protector. As they were then eager to enjoy the benefit of this trade, they reſolved to make uſe of the ſhips of private per-

* 4681. 15s. †9371. 10s. ‡ 1875l.

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ſons; and the plan they adopted at firſt from neceſſity, they perſevered in afterwards from motives of œconomy. Merchants uſed to freight ſhips for them, completely equipped and victualled, to convey to India, and to bring back from thence, the number of tons agreed upon. The time they were to remain at the place of their deſtination, was always fixed. Thoſe which could not be ſupplied with cargoes, were uſually taken by ſome free merchant, who readily engaged to indemnify the owners. They were to be diſpatched the firſt in the enſuing ſeaſon, in order that their rigging might not be too much worn. In caſes of neceſſity, the Company uſed to furniſh them with rigging from their own ſtores; but they were paid for them at a ſtipulated price, of fifty per cent. profit.

The ſhips employed in this navigation, carried from ſix to eight hundred tons. The Company, at their departure, only took the room they wanted for their iron, lead, copper, woollen ſtuffs, and Madeira wines, the only merchandiſe they ſent to India. The proprietors might fill up the remaining ſpace in the ſhip with the proviſions neceſſary for ſo long a voyage, and with all the articles which the Company they ſerved did not make objects of their trade. At their return, they had alſo the right of diſpoſing of the ſpace of thirty tons, which, by their contract, they had reſerved. They were even authoriſed to fill up this ſpace with the ſame goods that were received by the Company; but upon condition that they ſhould pay thirty per cent. on the value of them.

In 1773, this tax was reduced to the half, in hopes that this favour would induce the owners and their agents to fulfil their engagements with more exactneſs, and that it would put a ſtop to fraudulent imports. This new arrangement not having had the effect that was expected from it, the Company at length took the reſolution to appropriate to their own uſe all the ſpace of theſe ſhips. Since this reſolution, they import the ſame quantity of merchandiſe on a ſmaller number of veſſels, by which they make an annual ſaving of 2,250,000 livres*. In 1777, they ſent out only forty-five ſhips, conſiſting of thirty-three thouſand one hundred and ſixty-one tons, and the crews of which amounted to four thouſand five hundred men.

The ſurgeon of each veſſel, on it's return from India, receives, beſide his appointments, a gratuity of four and twenty livres† for each man he brings back to Europe. It has been thought, with reaſon, that this ſurgeon, when better rewarded, would take more care of thoſe that were intruſted to him, and that the life of a man was worth more than a guinea. If the ſame cuſtom has not been adopted elſewhere, it is either becauſe they have a higher opinion of the ſurgeon, or a leſs value for man.

The reformation, introduced in Europe in the management of the Company, was wiſe and neceſſary; but it was chiefly in the Indies that humanity, juſtice, and policy, were ſubverted.

* 93,750l. † 1l.

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Theſe dreadful truths did not eſcape the notice of government; and we ſhall now ſee what means were ſuggeſted to them for the re-eſtabliſhment of order.

The boldeſt or moſt ambitious members of the adminiſtration, advanced, that the legiſlative body ought to decide, that the territorial acquiſitions made in Aſia did not belong to the Company, but to the nation, which would immediately take poſſeſſion of them. This ſyſtem, upon whatever grounds of reaſoning it might have been ſupported, would certainly have been rejected. The moſt enlightened among the citizens would have ſeen, that this arrrangement would have given too much influence to the crown; it would have alarmed even thoſe venal minds which had hitherto been moſt partial to regal authority.

The parliament then thought proper to confine itſelf to the eſtabliſhment of a ſupreme council in Bengal, compoſed of five members, whoſe places, when they became vacated, were to be filled up by the Company, but with the approbation of the King. The abſolute direction of all the provinces conquered in that country, was conferred on this council; whoſe juriſdiction extends alſo over all the other parts of India, in which the Engliſh have poſſeſſions. Perſons who are in power there, cannot make either war or peace, or enter into any treaty with the princes of the country, without the conſent of this council. It is to obey all the orders ſent from the directors, who, in their turn, are obliged to impart to the miniſtry all the intelligence they receive. Although

though the operations of commerce be not immediately under the inſpection of this council, yet it has in reality the deciſion of them; becauſe, having the ſole diſpoſal of the public revenues, it can grant or refuſe advances at pleaſure.

AFTER having placed the banks of the Ganges under a more tolerable form of government, it became neceſſary to attend to the puniſhment, and even the prevention, of the enormities with which this rich part of Aſia was more and more ſullied. It was agreed, that, in all the other ſettlements, civil and criminal juſtice ſhould continue to be rendered by the principal ſervants of the Company: but the parliament created for Bengal a tribunal compoſed of four magiſtrates, who were appointed by the crown, and whoſe decrees could not be reverſed, except by the King in his privy council. Theſe judges, as well as the members of the ſupreme council, are not allowed to have any concern in trade. To indemnify them for this prohibition, the incomes aſſigned them have been too conſiderable, at leaſt in the opinion of the proprietors, who are obliged to pay them, without having either regulated or conſented to them.

ANOTHER very great abuſe had been introduced into India; and this was the raiſing of fortifications in all parts without neceſſity, ſometimes even without any apparent utility. It was the cupidity of the Company's agents alone which determined theſe conſtructions. They had coſt upwards of 100,000,000 of livres* in very few

* 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

years.

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years. The direction put a ſtop to this dreadful evil, by wiſely regulating the ſum to be employed in future in this ſort of defence.

THE ſpirit of order extended itſelf to the management of the public revenues, to the pay of the troops, to the military part of the navy, to the operations of commerce, and to the objects of adminiſtration.

THE Great Mogul had taken refuge in Bengal, and a penſion had been aſſigned to him of 6,240,000 livres *, for his ſubſiſtence. He was replaced upon the throne by the Marattas, and the Engliſh were relieved from a kind of tribute, which they did not ſubmit to without impatience, ſince they were no longer in need of this feeble ſupport. Chance was not ſo favourable to them in their ſchemes of ſtripping the Soubah of his country; and yet they reduced to 7,680,000 livres †, the revenue of 12,720,000 livres ‡, which, by the treaty of 1765, they were obliged to pay him. In 1771, his ſucceſſor was even reſtrained to 3,840,000 livres §, upon pretence that he was a minor. He may expect to have his revenue ſtill more curtailed, becauſe his name is now never made uſe of, which, till the year 1772, was inſerted in all acts of ſovereignty.

IT was impoſſible that all theſe reformations ſhould not fill up the precipice, which preſumption, neglect, factions, plunder, and extravagancies of all kinds, had digged for the Company. We ſhall judge how much their ſituation has been improved.

* 260,000l. † 320,000l. ‡ 530,000l, § 160,000l.

ON

BOOK III.

Preſent ſituation of the Company.

ON the 31ſt of January 1774, this body, the apparent proſperity of which aſtoniſhed the whole univerſe, had not more than 255,240,742 livres, ten ſols *. Their debts amounted to 250,847,842 livres, ten ſols †. The balance in their favour, therefore, was only 4,392,900 livres ‡.

ON the 31ſt of January 1776, their capital amounted to 256,518,067 livres, ten ſols §; and their debts to 195,248,655 livres ‖. Their treaſure was conſequently increaſed in two years by 56,876,512 livres, ten ſols ¶.

THEY have ſince paid off 11,506,680 livres **, which remained due of the loan of 31,500,000 livres ††. They have taken up 11,250,000 livres ‡‡ in bills of contract. They have diſcharged ſeveral debts formerly contracted in India; ſo that, on the 31ſt January 1778, the Company had, at their free and entire diſpoſal, the ſum of 102,708,112 livres, ten ſols §§; excluſive of their magazines, their ſhips, their fortifications, and every thing which is of uſe in maintaining their ſeveral ſettlements.

THIS proſperity will increaſe in proportion as the immenſe territory acquired by the Engliſh in India, ſhall be better adminiſtered. In 1773, their poſſeſſions returned 113,791,252 livres, ten ſols ‖‖; but the expences of collecting this ſum abſorbed 81,153,652 livres, ten ſols ¶¶. At this period then, the net produce amounted only

* 10,635,031l. 8s. 9d. † 10,451,993l. 8s. 9d.
‡ 183,037l. 10s. § 10,688,252l. 16s. 3d. ‖ 8,135,356l. 9s. 2d.
¶ 2,369,854l. 13s. 9d. ** 479,445l. †† 1,312,500l.
‡‡ 468,750l. §§ 4,279,504l. 13s. ‖‖ 4,741,302l. 3s. 9d.
¶¶ 3,381,402l. 3s. 9d.

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to 32,660,100 livres *. It has gradually increaſed, becauſe ſome of the evils have been attacked with ſucceſs; it will increaſe ſtill more, becauſe there are ſtill many left to deſtroy.

THE extenſion that has been given to the trade, will prove another ſource of fortune. The ſale of 1772 amounted to 79,214,872 livres, ten ſols †; that of 1773, to 71,992,552 livres, ten ſols ‡; that of 1774, to 82,665,405 livres §; that of 1775, to 78,627,712 livres, ten ſols ‖; that of 1776, to 74,400,457 livres, ten ſols **.

LET us add to theſe great tranſactions of the Company, the ſum of 11,250,000 livres ††, at which the merchandiſe annually brought clandeſtinely from the Indies, is eſtimated. Let us add 4,500,000 livres ‡‡ for the diamonds. Let us add the funds more or leſs extenſive, but always very conſiderable, the value of which, the Engliſh diſtributed in the different factories of Aſia have furniſhed to foreign nations. Let us add the riches which theſe merchants themſelves carry away when they have amaſſed them, to go and enjoy them in their own country. Let us obſerve at the ſame time, that theſe vaſt ſpeculations, which render all the people of Africa, Europe, and America tributary to Great Britain, do not take annually out of that empire for the Indies more than 2,250,000 livres §§, or at the utmoſt 3,375,000

* 1,360,837 l. 10 s.
† 3,300,619 l. 13 s. 9 d.
‡ 2,999,689 l. 13 s. 4 d.
§ 3,444,391 l. 17 s. 6 d.
‖ 3,276,155 l. 3 s. 9 d.
** 3,100,019 l. 1 s. 3 d.
†† 468,750 l.
‡‡ 187,500 l.
§§ 93,750 l.

livres;

livres *; and we ſhall have an idea of the immenſe advantages which theſe diſtant colonies procure to the fortunate poſſeſſors of them.

Will the charter of the Company be renewed?

In 1780 the charter of the Company will expire, and every thing ſeems to promiſe that it will be renewed. Government, after having ſecured to itſelf the major part of the produce of theſe conqueſts, will deliver up again theſe regions to the oppreſſive yoke of monopoly.

"Unfortunate Indians! endeavour to reconcile yourſelves to your chains. In vain have your ſupplications been carried to the miniſtry, to the ſenate, and to the people. The miniſtry think only of themſelves; the ſenate is raving; and the wiſe part of the people are either ſilent, or their words are not attended to. The rapacious and cruel aſſociation of merchants that has cauſed your misfortunes, not only aggravates them, but looks upon them with tranquillity. Privileged robbers! ye who for ſo long a time have kept a great part of the globe under the fetters of prohibition, and who have condemned it to eternal poverty, was not this tyranny ſufficient for you? Muſt you ſtill add to the weight of it, by crimes which render the name of your country execrable?

"What did I ſay, your country! I doubt whether you have any. But if the voice of private intereſt alone can awaken your attention, liſten to it, while it exclaims by me,

* 140,625 l.

"that

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" that you are precipitating yourſelves into ruin;
" Your tyranny is haſtening to it's end. After
" the monſtrous abuſe you have made of your
" authority, whether it be renewed or not it will,
" ceaſe. Do you think that the nation, when
" rouſed, as it will be, from it's preſent delirium
" and intoxication, will not call upon you to
" anſwer for your oppreſſions? Or that ye will
" not be made to expiate your enormities by the
" loſs of your criminal riches, and perhaps by
" the effuſion of your corrupted blood? You
" deceive yourſelves if you think that they will
" be forgotten. The horrid ſpectacle of ſo many
" immenſe regions pillaged, ravaged, or reduced
" to the moſt cruel ſervitude, will be diſplayed
" before us again. The earth now covers the
" carcaſes of three millions of men, who have
" periſhed through your fault or neglect: but
" they will be taken up again out of the ground;
" they will cry out to Heaven, and to the earth
" for vengeance, and will obtain it. Time and
" circumſtances will only ſuſpend your puniſh-
" ment. I ſee the period approaching when you
" will be recalled, and your ſouls impreſſed with
" terror. I behold you dragged into the dun-
" geons that you deſerve. I view you upon your
" coming out of them. I ſee you brought pale
" and trembling before your judges. I hear the
" exclamations of the people, in fury collected
" about their tribunals. The intimidated orator
" faulters in his harangue. Shame and dread
" have taken poſſeſſion of him, and he has given
" up your cauſe; the confiſcation of your eſtates,

" and

" and the ſentence of your death are pronounced. " My menaces, perhaps, only excite in you a " ſmile of contempt. You have perſuaded your- " ſelves, that men who can throw maſſes of gold " into the ſcale of juſtice will make it incline at " pleaſure. Perhaps even you flatter yourſelves " that the nation corrupted, while it prolongs your " charter, will avow itſelf guilty of the crimes you " have committed, and an accomplice of thoſe " you may hereafter commit."

But this will not be the caſe; juſtice will ſooner or later be exerciſed. If it were otherwiſe, I would addreſs myſelf to the populace; I would ſay to them: People, whoſe clamours have ſo often cauſed your maſters to tremble, what are you now waiting for? For what occaſion do you reſerve your torches, and the ſtones that pave your ſtreets? Tear them up—but, the upright citizens, if there be ſome left, will at length be rouſed. They will perceive that the ſpirit of monopoly is narrow and cruel; that it is inſenſible to the public good; and that it cannot be reſtrained by the idea of either preſent or future cenſure. They will find that this ſpirit ſees nothing beyond the preſent moment; and that in the paroxyſm of it's phrenſy, it has pronounced at all times, and among all nations, the following decree:

" Let my country periſh, let the region I " command periſh likewiſe; periſh the citizen and " the foreigner; periſh my aſſociate, provided " I can but enrich myſelf with his ſpoils. All

" parts

" parts of the univerſe are alike to me. When I
" have laid waſte, exhauſted, and impoveriſhed
" one country, I ſhall always find another, to
" which I may carry my gold, and enjoy it in
" peace."

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

BOOK IV.

Voyages, Settlements, Wars, and Trade of the French in the Eaſt-Indies.

WHEN I began this work, I took an oath that I would adhere ſtrictly to truth; and hitherto I am able conſcientiouſly to declare, that I have not departed from it. May my hand wither, if it ſhould happen, that by a predilection, which is but too frequent, I ſhould either deceive myſelf or others with reſpect to the faults of the French nation. I will neither extenuate the good nor the evil which our anceſtors have done; and the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and even the Engliſh themſelves, are the people whom I will call upon to atteſt my impartiality. Let them read and pronounce my ſentence. If they ſhould find that I have remitted in favour of the French that ſeverity with which I have treated them, I give them leave to claſs me among the number of thoſe flatterers, who for theſe two thouſand years paſt, have poiſoned the minds of the people, and of their ſovereigns; let them add my volumes to the numerous monuments there are exiſting of the ſame kind of meanneſs; let them ſuſpect me of having given way to the impreſſions of terrors, or of having been ſeduced by the allurement of hopes; let them treat me with the utmoſt contempt.

BOOK IV.

Ancient revolutions of commerce in France.

THE ancient Gauls, almoſt always at war with each other, had no other intercourſe but ſuch as ſavage nations, whoſe wants are always few, can have with each other. Their connections abroad were ſtill more circumſcribed. Some navigators from Vannes carried earthen-ware to Great Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, ſlaves, tin, and furs. Such of theſe articles as they could not diſpoſe of at home, were conveyed to Marſeilles, and exchanged for wines, ſtuffs, and ſpices, which were brought there by traders from Italy or Greece.

THIS kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls. It appears from Cæſar's account, that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals. They imagined that their own ſoil was ſufficiently fruitful to anſwer all their wants. The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not ſo ſtrict. To enable them to pay for the commodities they might procure from the Mediterranean, and for which the demand was continually increaſing, they had recourſe to a kind of labour that had never before occurred to them: they collected with great care all the gold duſt that was brought down with the ſand along the ſtream of ſeveral of their rivers.

ALTHOUGH the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of eſtimation, it neceſſarily increaſed in Gaul, after they had ſubdued, and in ſome meaſure civilized it. Sea-ports were eſtabliſhed at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every

where made, the ruins of which we ſtill behold with aſtoniſhment. Every navigable river had it's company of merchants, to whom conſiderable privileges were granted. Theſe were called *Nautes*, and were the agents and ſprings of a general circulation.

This riſing ſpirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it reſtored to it's former activity, even when theſe robbers had eſtabliſhed themſelves in their conqueſts. To their ſavage fury ſucceeded an unbounded paſſion for wealth, to gratify which, they had recourſe to every kind of oppreſſion. Every boat that came to a town was to pay a duty for entrance, another for the ſalute, a third for the bridge, a fourth for approaching the ſhore, a fifth for anchorage, a ſixth for leave to unload, and a ſeventh for ſtore-room. Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were expoſed to the inſufferable tyranny of cuſtom-houſe officers, who were diſperſed all over the country. Theſe exceſſes were carried ſo far, that ſometimes the goods brought to market did not produce enough to pay the expences incurred before the ſale of them. A total diſcouragement was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch enormities.

Cloysters ſoon became the only places where induſtry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The Monks were not then corrupted by idleneſs, intrigue, and debauchery. Uſeful labours filled up the vacancies of an edifying and retired life. The moſt humble and robuſt of them ſhared the toils of agriculture with their vaſſals.

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Thoſe to whom nature had imparted leſs ſtrength, or more underſtanding, applied themſelves to the cultivation of the neglected and abandoned arts. All of them in ſilence and retirement were engaged in the ſervice of their country, the ſubſtance of which their ſucceſſors have inceſſantly devoured, while they diſturbed it's tranquillity.

If theſe recluſe perſons had not had recourſe to any of thoſe iniquitous meaſures that have led them to the degree of wealth to which we now ſee, not without indignation, they have attained; they muſt neceſſarily have acquired it in proceſs of time, as it was one of the immediate effects of their conſtitution. The founders of monaſteries had not the leaſt idea of the conſequence, though evident enough, of the auſterity they impoſed upon a monaſtic life. They were not aware of the accumulation of riches, the limits of which it is impoſſible to fix, whenever the annual revenue exceeds the annual expenditure. This expenditure being always the ſame, and ſubject to no variation, except that of the circumſtances which raiſe or lower the price of proviſions; and the overplus of the revenue being continually accumulating, muſt at length, however trifling we may ſuppoſe it, form a great maſs of wealth. The prohibiting ſtatutes enacted with reſpect to poſſeſſions in mortmain, may therefore retard, but can never put an entire ſtop to, the progreſs of monaſtic opulence. The caſe is not the ſame with the families of citizens which are not ſubſervient to any kind of rule. A prodigal ſon ſucceeds to an avaricious father, ſo that expences

are never upon the ſame footing. The fortune is either diſſipated, or it is improved. Perſons who have laid down rules for religious ſocieties, have done it in the ſole view of making holy men; but their regulations have tended more directly and more effectually to make rich ones.

DAGOBERT excited the ſpirit of his countrymen in the ſeventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons flocked with tin and lead from England; the Jews with jewels and gold or ſilver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the North; traders from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain, with the commodities of their reſpective countries, and thoſe they received from Africa, Egypt, and Syria; the merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their ſoil and their induſtry afforded. Unfortunately, this proſperity was of a ſhort duration; it diſappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charlemagne.

THIS prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greateſt men recorded in hiſtory, had he not been ſometimes influenced by ſanguinary ſchemes of conqueſt, and ſullied with acts of perſecution and tyranny, ſeemed to follow the footſteps of thoſe firſt Romans, whoſe relaxations, from the fatigues of war, were the labours of agriculture. He applied himſelf to the care of his vaſt domains, with that cloſeneſs and ſkill which would hardly be expected from the moſt aſſiduous man in a private ſtation. All the great men of the ſtate followed his example, and devoted themſelves to huſbandry, and to thoſe arts

which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had many of their own productions to barter, and could with great eaſe make them circulate throughout the immenſe empire, which was then ſubject to their dominion.

So flouriſhing a ſituation preſented a freſh allurement to the Normans to indulge the inclination they had for piracy. Thoſe barbarians, accuſtomed to ſeek from plunder that wealth which their ſoil did not afford, poured forth in multitudes out of their inhoſpitable climate in queſt of booty. They attacked all the ſea-coaſts, but more eſpecially thoſe of France, which promiſed the richeſt ſpoil, with the greateſt avidity. The ravages they committed, the cruelties they exerciſed, the flames they kindled for a whole century in thoſe fertile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror. During that fatal period nothing was thought of but how to eſcape ſlavery or death. There was no intercourſe between the ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and conſequently no trade.

In the mean time the nobles, intruſted with the adminiſtration of the provinces, had inſenſibly made themſelves maſters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, throw'n off all dependence on the head of the empire; but, although they retained the humble appellation of vaſſals, they were not much leſs formidable to the ſtate than the kings in the neighbourhood of it's frontiers. They were confirmed in their uſurpations at the memorable

memorable æra when the ſceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets. From that time there were no national aſſemblies, no tribunals, no laws, no government. In that fatal confuſion, the ſword uſurped the place of juſtice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace ſervitude, to purchaſe the protection of a chief who was able to defend them.

COMMERCE could not poſſibly flouriſh when loaded with the ſhackles of ſlavery, and in the midſt of the continual diſturbances occaſioned by the moſt cruel anarchy. Induſtry is the child of peace; nothing depreſſes it ſo much as ſervitude. Genius languiſhes when it is not animated by hope and emulation; and neither of theſe can ſubſiſt where there is no property. Nothing is a ſtronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impoſſibility of working ſucceſsfully to enrich barbarous maſters.

NONE of the kings of France had any conception of this important truth, till they became ſenſible of it, from experiencing the inconveniences of an authority expoſed to perpetual reſtraint. They therefore endeavoured to limit the power of thoſe ſubaltern tyrants, who, by ruining their unfortunate vaſſals, perpetuated the calamities of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the firſt who introduced trade into the ſyſtem of government. Before his time it was only the work of chance and circumſtances. He brought it under the regulation of ſtated laws; and he himſelf drew

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up ſtatutes, which have ſerved as a model for thoſe that have ſince been enacted.

THESE firſt ſteps led the way to meaſures of greater importance. The old law, which forbad the exportation of all the productions of the kingdom, was ſtill in force, and agriculture was diſcouraged by this abſurd prohibition. The wiſe monarch removed theſe fatal impediments; expecting, not without reaſon, that a free exportation would reſtore to the nation thoſe treaſures which his imprudent expedition into Aſia had laviſhed.

SOME political events ſeconded theſe ſalutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings of France had but few ports on the ocean, and none on the Mediterranean. The northern coaſts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Britany: the reſt belonged to the Engliſh. The ſouthern coaſts were poſſeſſed by the Counts of Toulouſe, and the Kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Caſtile. By this arrangement, the inland provinces could not, without much difficulty, open a communication with the foreign markets. The union of the county of Toulouſe with the crown, removed this great obſtacle, at leaſt with reſpect to a part of the French territory.

PHILIP, the ſon of St. Lewis, in order to improve the advantages ariſing from this acquiſition, endeavoured to draw to Niſmes, a city under his juriſdiction, part of the trade carried on at Montpellier, which belonged to the king of Arragon.

The

The privileges he granted produced the desired effect; but it was soon found that this success was not of much real advantage. The Italians filled the kingdom with spices, perfumes, silks, and all the rich stuffs of the East. The arts had not made sufficient progress in France to admit of their productions being offered in exchange; and the returns of agriculture were inadequate to the expences of so many objects of luxury. A trade of such valuable articles could not be carried on without money, and there was but little in the kingdom, especially since the expeditions of the Crusades; although France was then richer than most of the other European nations.

Philip, surnamed The Fair, was sensible of these truths; he found means to improve agriculture, so as to answer the demands of foreign importations; and these he reduced, by establishing new manufactures, and improving the old ones. Under this reign the ministry first undertook to guide the hand of the artist, and to direct his labours. The breadth, the quality, and the dressing of the cloths were fixed; the exportation of wool, which the neighbouring nations came to purchase in order to manufacture it, was prohibited. These were the least unreasonable measures that could be pursued in those times of ignorance.

Since that period, the progress of the arts was proportioned to the decline of feudal tyranny. The French, however, did not begin to form their taste till the time of their expeditions into Italy. They were dazzled with a multitude of new objects

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jects that preſented themſelves at Genoa, Venice, and Florence. The ſtrictneſs obſerved by Anne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. at firſt reſtrained the conquerors from giving full ſcope to their propenſity for imitation; but no ſooner had Francis I. invited the women to court, no ſooner had Catharine of Medicis croſſed the Alps, than the great affected an elegance unknow'n before ſince the firſt foundation of the monarchy. The whole nation was ſeduced by this alluring example of luxury, and the improvement of the manufactures was the natural conſequence.

From Henry II. to Henry IV. the civil wars, the unhappy diviſions of religion, the ignorance of government, the ſpirit of finance which began to have it's influence in the council; the barbarous and devouring avarice of men in buſineſs, encouraged by the protection they enjoyed; all theſe ſeveral cauſes retarded the progreſs of induſtry, but could never deſtroy it. It revived with freſh ſplendour under the frugal adminiſtration of Sully. It was almoſt extinguiſhed under that of Richelieu and Mazarin, both governed by the farmers of the revenue; one wholly taken up with his ambition for empire and his ſpirit of revenge, the other with intrigue and plunder.

First voyages of the French to the East-Indies.

No king of France had ever ſeriouſly conſidered the advantages that might accrue from a trade to India, nor had the emulation of the French been excited by the luſtre which other nations derived from it. They conſumed more eaſtern productions than any other nation; they were as favourably ſituated

ſituated for procuring them at the firſt hand; and yet they were content to pay to foreign induſtry what their own might as well have partaken of.

Some merchants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in 1503, upon a ſmall expedition; but Gonneville, who commanded it, met with violent ſtorms at the Cape of Good Hope, was caſt upon unknow'n lands, and with much difficulty got back to Europe.

In 1601 a ſociety formed in Bretagne fitted out two ſhips, to endeavour to get a ſhare, if poſſible, of the riches of the Eaſt, which the Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and the Dutch, were contending for. Pyrard, who commanded theſe ſhips, arrived at the Maldives, and did not return to his own country till after an unfortunate navigation of ten years.

A new company, headed by one Girard, a native of Flanders, fitted out ſome ſhips from Normandy for the iſland of Java, in 1616 and 1619. They returned with cargoes ſufficient to indemnify the adventurers, but not to encourage them to any freſh undertakings.

Captain Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruitleſs grant in 1633, prevailed upon ſome merchants of Dieppe, two years after, to enter upon a track which might be productive of great riches, if properly purſued. Fortune baffled the endeavours of the new adventurers. The only advantage gained by theſe repeated expeditions, was the high opinion that was conceived of Madagaſcar,

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gaſcar, which till that time had been neglected by the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, who had not found there any of the objects which attracted them to the Eaſt.

The favourable impreſſion the French had received of this iſland, gave riſe to a Company in 1642, which intended to make a conſiderable ſettlement upon it, with a view of ſecuring to their ſhips the neceſſary refreſhments for ſailing further. The charter of this Company was to laſt twenty years; but the cruelties committed by it's agents, together with their many acts of perfidy and diſhoneſty, put an end to it's exiſtence before the completion of that period. It's capital was conſumed; and in return for all it's expences, it had nothing more than four or five hamlets, ſituated along the coaſt, conſtructed with planks, covered in with leaves, ſurrounded with ſtakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, becauſe there were a few batteries upon them. The defenders of theſe wretched huts were reduced to the number of one hundred robbers; whoſe tyranny daily increaſed the hatred that had been ſwor'n againſt their nation. A few ſmall diſtricts, abandoned by the natives, and ſome rather more extenſive, from which a tribute of proviſions was exacted by force; theſe were the only advantages that had been obtained.

The Marſhal de la Meilleraie ſeized upon theſe ruins, and conceived the project of reſtoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. He met with ſo little ſucceſs, that his

his property ſold but for 20,000 livres*, which was full as much as it was worth.

An East-India Company is eſtabliſhed in France. Encouragements given to this aſſociation.

At length, in 1664, Colbert undertook to make France a ſharer in the Eaſt India trade. There were great inconveniences attending this intercourſe with Aſia. It could ſcarce furniſh any thing but articles of luxury; it retarded the progreſs of the arts which the French were labouring with ſo much ſucceſs to eſtabliſh; it procured but very little vent for the national proviſions and manufactures; and neceſſarily occaſioned a great exportation of ſpecie. Conſiderations of ſo important a nature, were calculated to excite ſuſpenſe in the mind of a miniſter, whoſe plans were purſued with no other view but to extend every branch of induſtry, and to add to the riches of the kingdom. But the French, in imitation of the other Europeans, diſplayed a determined taſte for the luxuries of the Eaſt. It was thought that it would be more advantageous, and at the ſame time more honourable, to go in ſearch of them acroſs an immenſe ocean, than to receive them from rivals, perhaps from enemies.

The mode of carrying this matter into execution, was already traced out. It was then a maxim ſo generally received, that ſuch nice and complicated operations could only be managed by an excluſive charter, that the boldeſt ſpeculator would not have called it in queſtion. An Eaſt-India Company was therefore created, veſted with all the privileges enjoyed by thoſe of

* 833l. 6s. 8d.

Holland

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Holland and England. Colbert went ſtill further; and, conſidering that for the purpoſe of carrying on great commercial undertakings, there is naturally a degree of confidence exiſting in republican governments, which cannot be expected in a monarchy, had recourſe to every expedient that could produce it.

A CHARTER was granted for fifty years, that the Company might be encouraged to form great ſettlements, with a proſpect of reaping the fruits of them.

ALL foreigners advancing 20,000 livres* were to be deemed Frenchmen, without the privilege of naturalization.

ON the like terms, officers, whatever corps they belonged to, were allowed leave of abſence, without forfeiting the rights of their poſt, or their pay.

WHATEVER was wanted for the building, equipment, or victualling of the ſhips, was to be exempted from all the duties of export or import, as well as from thoſe of the admiralty.

THE government engaged to pay fifty livres† per ton for all goods exported from France to India, and ſeventy-five livres‡ for every ton imported from thence.

IT was agreed, that the ſettlements of the Company ſhould be defended with a ſufficient military force, and that their outward and homeward-bound ſhips ſhould be furniſhed with as ſtrong a convoy as exigencies ſhould require.

* 833l. 6s. 8d. † 2l. 1s. 8d. ‡ 3l. 2s. 6d.

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THE ruling paſſion of the nation was made ſubſervient to this eſtabliſhment. Hereditary titles and honours were promiſed to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of the Company.

As trade was yet in it's infancy in France, and was unable to furniſh the fifteen millions* that were to conſtitute the ſtock of the new ſociety, the miniſtry engaged to lend as far as three millions†. The nobles, the magiſtrates, all orders of men, were invited to ſhare the reſt. The nation, proud to pleaſe their king, who had not yet cruſhed them with the weight of his falſe greatneſs, came into the propoſal with great eagerneſs.

MADAGASCAR was again deſtined to be the nurſery of the new aſſociation. The repeated misfortunes experienced there, did not invalidate the idea of it's being the beſt baſis for the vaſt edifice that was to be raiſed. In order to form a proper judgment of theſe views, we muſt endeavour to acquire as thorough a knowledge as poſſible of this celebrated iſland.

The French eſtabliſh colonies at Madagaſcar. Deſcription of that iſland.

MADAGASCAR, which is ſeparated from the continent of Africa by the Mozambique channel, is ſituated at the entrance of the Indian ocean, between the twelfth and twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and between the ſixty-ſecond and ſeventieth degree of longitude. It is three hundred and thirty-ſix leagues in length, one hundred and twenty in it's greateſt breadth, and about eight hundred in circumference.

* 625,000l. † 125,000l.

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THE coaſts of this great iſland are in general unwholeſome; an evil ariſing from natural cauſes, and which might be remedied. The land which we inhabit, has been rendered wholeſome merely by the labours of man. In it's original ſtate, it was covered with foreſts and moraſſes, which corrupted the air. Such is the preſent ſtate of Madagaſcar. The rains, as in the other countries ſituated under the tropics, are periodical. They form rivers, which, in endeavouring to diſcharge themſelves into the ocean, find their mouths blocked up by ſands, which the motion of the ſea has driven there in the dry ſeaſon; that is to ſay, when the volume or rapidity of the waters is not ſufficient to overcome this obſtacle. The waters, ſtopped by this barrier, flow back again into the plain, where they become ſtagnant for a certain time, and fill the horizon with deſtructive exhalations, till at length, ſurmounting the impediment by which they were confined, they procure themſelves an outlet. We ſhall be convinced of this fact, if we conſider that the coaſts are unwholeſome only in the rainy ſeaſon; that the column of corrupted air never extends to any diſtance; that, in the inland parts, the atmoſphere is always pure; and the banks are always wholeſome in thoſe places where, from local circumſtances, the courſe of the rivers is uninterrupted.

BY whatever winds the navigator may arrive at Madagaſcar, he meets with nothing but a barren ſand. This ſterility terminates at the diſtance of a league or two. Throughout the reſt of the iſland, nature, in perpetual vegetation, produces ſponta-

ſpontaneouſly, both in the foreſts and in the open grounds; cotton, indigo, hemp, honey, white-pepper, ſago, bananas, the Amboyna cabbage, and the ravendſara, a kind of ſpice little know'n, with a multitude of other nutritious plants, foreign to our climates. The whole iſland is covered with palms, cacao, and orange trees, gum-plants, and woods fit for conſtruction, and uſeful in all the arts. There is not, properly ſpeaking, any kind of culture, except that of rice. The ruſhes that grow in the moraſſes are pulled up, and the ſeed is careleſsly ſcattered on the ground. Cattle are afterwards made to paſs over it, which, by their trampling, puſh the grain into the ſoil: the reſt is left to chance. There is another ſpecies of rice cultivated upon the mountains in the rainy ſeaſon, and with as little care. Theſe regions are not fertilized by the ſweat of men's brows. The fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, increaſed by the prolific quality of the waters, muſt here be ſubſtituted to every kind of labour.

Oxen, ſheep, hogs, and goats, feed day and night in the meadows, inceſſantly ſpringing up afreſh, which nature has formed at Madagaſcar. Neither horſes, nor buffaloes, nor camels, nor any kind of beaſt fit for burden or for the ſaddle, are to be met with here, though every thing ſeems to beſpeak that they would proſper.

It has been an opinion too lightly adopted, that gold and ſilver were the produce of this iſland. But it is an eſtabliſhed fact, that at no great diſtance from the bay of Antongil, there are copper

mines that yield conſiderably, and mines of very pure iron in the inland parts.

THE origin of the inhabitants of Madagaſcar, as that of moſt other people, is loſt in extravagant and fabulous accounts. Whether they be natives of the iſland, or have been tranſplanted there, is a queſtion which, in all probability, will never be decided. We cannot, however, avoid thinking, that they are not all derived from one common ſtock, when we conſider the different forms by which they are diſtinguiſhed.

THIS variety certainly depends upon the general manner in which iſlands are formed. In times anterior to the origin of navigation, they have all been connected with ſome continent, from which they have been ſeparated by thoſe natural commotions that are but too frequently renewed. If the iſland hath been ſuddenly broken off, we ſhall find only one race of men upon it. If the adjacent countries have been threatened with this ſeparation a long time before it has taken place, the imminent danger will have ſet all the different people in motion; and each of them will have flocked in crowds to the ſpot where they expected to be moſt ſecure. In the mean while, the dreadful phænomenon will have happened; and the portion of land that had been ſurrounded with water, will contain different races of men, having neither the ſame complexion nor the ſame ſtature, nor ſpeaking the ſame language.

WE have every reaſon to think, that this has been the caſe with the iſland of Madagaſcar. In

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the weſtern part of the iſland, we find a people called *Quimos*, who are in general not more than four feet high, and who never grow beyond four feet four inches. It is ſuppoſed, that they are now reduced to fifteen thouſand ſouls; though they muſt have been more numerous before the deſtructive and unfortunate war, which obliged them to quit the ſpot on which they had firſt ſettled. Being driven from their country, they took refuge in a very fertile valley, ſurrounded with ſteep rocks, where they live, without having any intercourſe with their neighbours. When their former conquerors unite to attack them in this fortunate ſituation, they drive a great number of oxen to the borders of theſe mountains. The enemy, who had no other ſpoil in view, ſeize upon the cattle, and lay down their arms, to take them up again, when they can ſucceed in forming another confederacy ſufficiently powerful, to induce the *Quimos* to purchaſe peace anew.

THIS expedient, which is adapted to theſe weak and timid people, would by no means be ſuitable to a powerful nation. The puſillanimous ſovereign or miniſter who purchaſes peace, invites his enemy to make war, and ſtrengthens him for the purpoſe with all the money he gives, while he weakens himſelf in the ſame proportion. He is a bad politician, who conducts himſelf as if he had only a few years to live, and who is very little ſolicitous of the fate of the empire after his death.

MADAGASCAR is divided into ſeveral colonies, more or leſs numerous, and independent of each other. Each of theſe feeble communities lives

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in a diſtrict that belongs to it, and is governed by it's own laws. A conſiderable degree of authority is lodged in a chief, who is elective in ſome places, hereditary in others, and ſometimes a uſurper. He cannot, however, engage in war without the conſent of the principal members of the ſtate, nor ſupport it without the voluntary contributions and exertions of his people.

THE ſtripping of the cultivated lands, the ſtealing of cattle, and the carrying off of women and children, are the ordinary cauſe of their diviſions. Theſe ruſtic people are tormented with the rage of acquiring poſſeſſions by unjuſt and violent meaſures, as ſtrongly as the moſt civilized nations are. Their hoſtilities are not deſtructive; but the priſoners are always made ſlaves.

THE people of Madagaſcar have not a very comprehenſive idea of the right of property, from whence an inclination for labour is derived, and which is the principle of defence and of ſubmiſſion to government. Reaſons of diſcontent, convenience, or neceſſity, eaſily prevail upon them to quit the ſpot they live on for another, which is either more fertile, or at a greater diſtance from their enemies. It frequently happens, even that an inhabitant of Madagaſcar leaves his country, merely from motives of caprice; and changes his reſidence again upon any new fancy, or when he is apprehenſive of puniſhment for ſome outrageous act, or for ſome theft. He is certain of finding lands to cultivate wherever he goes; for they are never parcelled out. The

grounds are uſually ſow'n by the community, who afterwards ſhare the produce. Civil right is therefore of little conſequence in theſe regions; but political right is ſtill more confined.

ALTHOUGH the people of Madagaſcar admit the prevailing doctrine of the two principles, yet they have but a confuſed idea of it, nor have they any form of worſhip whatever. They have not the leaſt conception of the exiſtence of another life, and yet they believe in ghoſts: but we are not to expect ideas more connected among barbarians, than we meet with among the moſt enlightened nations. The moſt fatal of their prejudices is that which has ſettled lucky and unlucky days; by which children that are bor'n under unfavourable auſpices are inhumanly put to death. This is a cruel error, which hinders or deſtroys population.

FEW people bear pain and affliction with ſo much patience as the inhabitants of Madagaſcar. Even the approach of death, the conſequence of which their education hath not taught them to fear, never diſturbs them. They expect the inſtant of their diſſolution, a period ſo diſtreſſing to us, with a degree of reſignation which it is not eaſy to conceive. It is perhaps a comfort to them to be aſſured, that they ſhall not be forgotten, when they are no more. The inhabitants of theſe ſavage regions entertain a very high ſenſe of the reſpect that is due to their anceſtors. It is a common thing to ſee men of all ages go to weep over the grave of their fathers, and to aſk

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advice of them in the moſt intereſting actions of their life.

THESE robuſt, and rather well-made iſlanders, have not the ſame indifference for the preſent as they have for the future. As they are never reſtrained in their inclinations by the ties of morality or religion, or by that enlightened kind of police which puts a ſtop to the propenſities of men, in order to eſtabliſh the order of ſociety, they are entirely devoted to their paſſions. They indulge with rapture in feſtivals, ſinging, dancing, and ſtrong liquors, and are extravagantly addicted to women. Every inſtant of an idle ſedentary life, free from the cravings of want, is diſſipated in ſenſual pleaſures, which are denied by nature to the ſavages of the north, who exhauſt their powers in the ſearch of food neceſſary for their miſerable and precarious exiſtence. Beſide the wife whom they marry in ceremony, the inhabitants of Madagaſcar take as many concubines as they can get. Divorce is common among them, though nothing be ſo rare as jealouſy. Moſt of them, indeed, eſteem themſelves honoured in having illegitimate children, when they are of a white race. The ſplendour of the origin compenſates for the obliquity of the birth.

WE may perceive a beginning of knowlege and induſtry among theſe people. With ſilk, cotton, and thread made of the barks of trees, they manufacture ſome ſtuffs. They are not entirely ignorant of the art of melting and forging iron. Their earthen ware is rather agreeable to the

the eye. In ſeveral diſtricts, they practiſe the mode of expreſſing their thoughts in writing. They have even books of hiſtory, phyſic, and aſtrology, committed to the care of their *Ombis*, who have been improperly conſidered as prieſts, and who, in fact, are impoſtors, who ſtyle themſelves, and perhaps believe themſelves to be, ſorcerers. This kind of knowlege, which is more diffuſed in the weſtern part than in the reſt of the iſland, has been brought by the Arabs, who have traded there from time immemorial.

A FEW diſtinct acts of anger and rage, committed in the height of ſome violent paſſion, have been ſufficient to calumniate the whole iſland of Madagaſcar, and ſtigmatize it's inhabitants with the title of ferocious. On the contrary, they are naturally ſociable, lively, cheerful, vain, and even impreſſed with ſentiments of gratitude. All travellers, who have penetrated into the interior part of the iſland, have been kindly received there, aſſiſted in their wants, treated as men and brethren. Upon the coaſts, where miſtruſt is uſually more prevailing, the navigators have rarely experienced any acts of violence or perfidy. Four and twenty Arabian families, which, for a number of generations, had uſurped the empire in the province of Anoſſi, had enjoyed it for a long time unmoleſted, 'till they were deprived of it in 1771, without either expulſion, maſſacre, or oppreſſion. In a word, the language of theſe iſlanders readily adapts itſelf to expreſs ſentiments of the utmoſt tenderneſs; and this circumſtance alone is calculated to give us a very favourable

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impreſſion of the ſoftneſs of their manners, and of their ſocial turn.

Conduct of the French at Madagaſcar. What they might and ought to have done there.

SUCH was the ſtate of Madagaſcar, when four French veſſels arrived there, in 1665. The Company that had ſent them out was reſolved to form a ſolid eſtabliſhment on this iſland. The project was wiſe, and it did not appear that the execution of it would be expenſive.

ALL the colonies which the Europeans have eſtabliſhed in America, to obtain the produce of that part of the world; or all thoſe they have fixed at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the iſles of France, of Bourbon, and St. Helena, for the cultivation of their commerce to the Indies, have required enormous expences, a long ſpace of time, and conſiderable labours. Many of theſe countries were entirely deſert, and in others there were only found inhabitants, whom it was impoſſible to render uſeful. Madagaſcar, on the contrary, preſented a ſoil naturally fertile, and a numerous, tractable, and intelligent ſet of inhabitants, who wanted only inſtruction to enable them effectually to aſſiſt in any purpoſe that was intended.

THESE iſlanders were haraſſed with the ſtate of war and anarchy in which they continually lived. They ardently wiſhed for a police which might make them enjoy peace and liberty. It was no matter of doubt, but that with diſpoſitions ſo favourable, they would readily concur in any attempts made to civilize them.

NOTHING was more eaſy than to have made this iſland of conſiderable utility. With proper attention,

attention, Madagaſcar might have produced a multitude of commodities fit for India, for Perſia, for Arabia, and for the continent of Africa. By inviting a few Indians and Chineſe to this ſpot, all the arts and cultures of Aſia would have been naturalized in the iſland. It was eaſy to conſtruct ſhips there, becauſe materials were to be found for this purpoſe of the beſt quality, and in plenty; and they might even have been readily equipped, becauſe the inhabitants diſplayed a turn for navigation. All theſe innovations would have acquired more ſolidity than the conqueſts of the Europeans in the Eaſt Indies can ever have; for the natives of thoſe regions will never adopt our laws, our manners, or our mode of worſhip; and conſequently they will never have that kind of favourable diſpoſition, which attaches people to a new form of government.

It was impoſſible that ſo fortunate a revolution could have been effected by violence. A numerous, brave, and uncivilized people, would never have ſubmitted to the chains with which a few barbarous foreigners might have wiſhed to load them. It was by the ſoft mode of perſuaſion; it was by the ſeducing proſpect of happineſs; it was by the allurements of a quiet life; it was by the advantages of our police, by the enjoyments attending our induſtry, and by the ſuperiority of our talents, that the whole iſland was to be brought to concur in a plan equally advantageous to both nations.

The ſyſtem of legiſlation which it would have been proper to give to theſe people, ſhould have been

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been adapted to their manners, their character, and their climate. It muſt have been in every reſpect the reverſe of the leſſigation of Europe, corrupted and embarraſſed by the barbariſm of feudal cuſtoms. However ſimple this ſyſtem might have been, the ſeveral parts could only have been propoſed ſucceſſively, and in proportion as the underſtanding of the people ſhould have become enlightened and improved. Perhaps it might even have been proper to lay aſide all thoughts of conciliating to it the minds of thoſe men in whom age had ſtrengthened the prejudices of cuſtom; perhaps it might have been neceſſary to endeavour to make partizans only of young men, who, formed by our inſtitutions, would, in proceſs of time, have become political miſſionaries, and might have increaſed the number of proſelytes to the ſyſtem of government.

The grand ſyſtem of civilization would ſtill have been promoted, by the intermarriage of the women of the iſland with the French coloniſts. This tie, ſo endearing, and of ſo tender a nature, would have extinguiſhed thoſe odious diſtinctions, which cheriſh perpetual hatred and everlaſting diviſion, between people who inhabit the ſame region, and live under the ſame laws.

It would have been repugnant to every ſyſtem of equity and policy, to ſeize arbitrarily upon any diſtrict of land, in order to fix new families upon it. The nation aſſembled ſhould have been aſked for thoſe lands which were unoccupied; and, in order to give more ſolidity to the acquiſition, Government might have given a price for them

them which would have been agreeable to theſe iſlanders. Theſe lands, thus legitimately acquired, would for the firſt time have been legally poſſeſſed; and the right of property would gradually have been eſtabliſhed from one perſon to another. In proceſs of time, the ſeveral colonies of Madagaſcar would readily have adopted an innovation, the advantages of which cannot be rendered leſs conſpicuous by the effect of any prejudice.

The more uſeful the colonies that might have been founded at Madagaſcar were like to prove, the more proper it was to chooſe ſituations well adapted to the purpoſe of cultivating, extending, encouraging, and preſerving theſe advantages. Excluſive of a ſettlement which it would, perhaps, have been expedient to form in the interior part of the iſland, in order to obtain the confidence of the inhabitants in the firſt inſtance; it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to form four upon the coaſt. One at Saint Auſtin's Bay, which would have opened an eaſy communication with the continent of Africa; another at Luquez, where a conſiderable and a conſtant degree of heat would have made all the plants of India proſper; the third at Fort Dauphin, which, from it's mild and wholeſome temperature, was well calculated for the cultivation of corn, and of moſt European productions: and laſtly, the fourth at Tametave, the moſt fertile, populous, and beſt cultivated diſtrict of the country. This laſt poſition deſerved even the preference of being made the capital

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capital of the colony; and for the following reaſons.

THERE is no harbour know'n at Madagaſcar. It is a miſtake to ſuppoſe, that it would be poſſible to form one at Fort Dauphin, by raiſing a pier upon ſome ſhoals which advance into the ſea. The labour attending ſuch an enterprize would not only be immenſe, but the expence would alſo be uſeleſs. It would be impoſſible that ſhips which cannot be defended from the hurricanes by the mountains themſelves, ſhould ever be ſheltered by a pier. Beſides, this factitious port, open in part to the fury of the waves, would neceſſarily be of ſmall extent. The ſhips would have no ſea room; and if once looſened from their anchors, would all run aground; and they would periſh without reſource upon a coaſt, where the ſea is conſtantly agitated, and where the ſands are in continual motion.

THE ſituation at Tametave is different. The bay, when freed from that inconvenient bar, which extends along all the eaſtern coaſt of Madagaſcar, is very ſpacious. The anchorage is good, and the veſſels are ſheltered from the hardeſt winds. The landing is eaſy. If the bed of the great river, that diſcharges itſelf into the bay, were to be digged for the ſpace of a league and a half, ſhips of the largeſt burden might then be brought up to the lake of Noſſe-Bé, where nature has formed an excellent harbour. In the midſt of it is an iſland, the air of which is very pure, and which might be eaſily defended. There is

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one fortunate circumſtance in this ſituation, which is, that with a few precautions, the entrance of it might be ſhut againſt an enemy's ſquadrons.

Such were the advantages which the French Company might have derived from Madagaſcar. The conduct of their agents unfortunately deſtroyed theſe brilliant expectations. Loſt to every ſenſe of ſhame, they ſecreted part of the funds intruſted to their management; they waſted ſtill more conſiderable ſums in uſeleſs and ridiculous expences; they made themſelves equally odious to the Europeans, whoſe labours they ought to have encouraged, as to the natives of the country, whom they ſhould have gained over by gentleneſs and by favours. Acts of iniquity and misfortunes were multiplied to ſuch a degree, that in 1670 the members of the Company thought proper to reſign into the hands of government a poſſeſſion which they held from it's gift. The change of adminiſtration did not produce better management. Moſt of the French who had remained in the iſland were maſſacred two years after. Thoſe who had eſcaped this memorable butchery, withdrew themſelves for ever from a ſoil which was leſs ſtained with their blood than with their crimes.

At different and diſtant intervals the court of Verſailles has had an eye upon Madagaſcar, but without ever being ſenſible of it's real value. It was neceſſary that France ſhould loſe all her trade, and all her conſideration in India, in order to be thoroughly ſatisfied of the importance of an iſland, the poſſeſſion of which would probably have

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have preſerved her from theſe calamities. Since this fatal period, the French have ſhew'n a deſire to form a ſettlement upon it. They ought not to be diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of the two attempts of 1770 and 1773, becauſe theſe were made without plan, and without means; and that inſtead of employing in them the ſuperfluous inhabitants of Bourbon, a ſet of pacific and wiſe men, inured to the climate, none but vagabonds collected from the ſcum of Europe were ſent there. Meaſures more prudent and better concerted cannot fail of having the deſired effect. It is not from motives of policy alone that the French ſhould ſtrive againſt the difficulties inſeparable from ſuch an enterprize; the voice of humanity ſhould ſpeak louder, and with greater energy than that of intereſt.

What glory would it be for France to raiſe a numerous people from the horrors of barbariſm; to give them decent manners, a well regulated policy, wiſe laws, a beneficent religion; to introduce among them the agreeable as well as the uſeful arts, and to raiſe them to the rank of enlightened and civilized nations! Stateſmen, may the wiſhes of philoſophy, may the wiſhes of a citizen, awaken your attention! If it be a glorious act to change the face of the univerſe, in order to increaſe general felicity; and if the honour that reſults from it belong to thoſe who hold the reins of empire; let me inform you that they are equally accountable to the preſent age, and to future generations, not only for all the miſchief they may do, but likewiſe for all the good

good which they might do, and have neglected. If you be desirous of real glory among your contemporaries, what more deserved fame than that which I propose can you be in pursuit of? If you wish to immortalize your name, consider, that monuments of bronze are more or less rapidly destroyed by time. Intrust the care of your reputation to beings who will perpetuate it by regeneration. The statue is silent, but mankind will speak. Let them, therefore, speak of you with praise. If corruption should afterwards insinuate itself into the wise system of legislation you have established, then it is that you will be truly revered. The age in which you lived will be called to mind, and tears will be bestowed upon your memory. Tears of admiration will be shed for you during your life, and tears of regret, many ages after your death.

The India Company had not such elevated views, when in 1670 they thought proper to abandon Madagascar. At that period it was that their ships sailed directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but in the French interest, they obtained leave to establish factories in several places on the coast of the peninsula. They even attempted to secure a share of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to send none but protestants; but by the artifices of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the English had been before.

The French make Surat the center of their trade.

Surat had been pitched upon for the center of all the business which the Company was to carry on in these parts. It was from this capital of

Guzarat

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Guzarat that all orders were to be iſſued for the inferior ſettlements: and there it was that the different merchandiſe deſtined for Europe was to be collected.

Account of the Guzarat in which this city is ſituated.

GUZARAT forms a peninſula between the Indus and Malabar. It is about one hundred and ſixty miles in length, and nearly the ſame in breadth. It is ſeparated from the kingdom of Agra by the mountains of Arva. There is not a province in Indoſtan in which the ſoil is more fertile, better watered, or interſected by a greater number of rivers. It were to be wiſhed, that the climate were not burnt up during three months in the year, by a moſt violent ſouth wind. This country was already in poſſeſſion of great advantages, when a foreign colony came to increaſe it's proſperity.

IN the ſeventh century, the laſt king of Perſia, of the dynaſty of the Sanaſides, was dethroned by the Mohammedans. Several of his ſubjects, diſſatisfied with the conqueror, took refuge in the province of Sabluſtan, from whence, a century after, they came to the iſland of Ormus. In a ſhort time they ſet ſail for India, and landed fortunately at Diu. Not contented ſtill with this aſylum, they reimbarked; and the waves drove them upon a pleaſant ſhore between Daman and Baçaim. The prince who governed that diſtrict conſented to receive them, on condition only that they ſhould reveal the myſteries of their faith; that they ſhould lay down their arms, that they ſhould ſpeak the language of the country, that their women ſhould go abroad unveiled, and that they ſhould celebrate their nuptials at the cloſe of

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the evening, according to the cuſtom of the country. As theſe ſtipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, from whence they ſoon ſpread further up the country.

A HABIT of labour happily contracted by neceſſity made them proſper. Prudent enough not to interfere with affairs of government or war, they enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midſt of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In conſequence of this circumſpection, and of the affluence in which they lived, their number increaſed conſiderably. They always remained a ſeparate people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Parſes, never intermarrying with the Indians, and adhering to the religious principles which had obliged them to quit their country. Their tenets were thoſe of Zoroaſter, ſomewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciouſneſs of the prieſts.

THE induſtry and activity of the new inhabitants, communicated itſelf to the hoſpitable nation that had ſo wiſely given them an aſylum. Sugar, corn, indigo, and other productions were naturalized upon a ſoil, which before had been principally covered with rice grounds. The fruits of the earth, and cattle were multiplied, varied, and brought to perfection. The fields of India diſplayed, for the firſt time, thoſe hedges, incloſures, and other uſeful and rural objects which embelliſh and enrich ſome of our regions.

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Manufactures made an equal progreſs with cultivation. Cotton aſſumed a more beautiful appearance, and ſilk was at length manufactured in the province. The increaſe of ſubſiſtence, of labour, and of population, extended, in proceſs of time, foreign connections.

THE ſplendour of Guzarat excited the ambition of two formidable powers. While the Portugueſe annoyed it on the ſide of the ſea by the ravages they committed, by the victories they gained, and by the conqueſt of Diu, juſtly eſteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already maſters of the north of India, and eager to advance toward the ſouthern parts where trade and riches were to be found, threatened it from the continent.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, ſaw how impoſſible it would be for him at once to withſtand two ſuch enemies, equally bent upon his deſtruction. He thought he had leſs to fear from a people whoſe forces were ſeparated from his dominions by immenſe ſeas, than from a nation firmly ſettled on the frontiers of his provinces. This conſideration made him determine to be reconciled with the Portugueſe. The conceſſions he made induced them to join with him againſt Akbar, whoſe activity and courage they dreaded little leſs than he did.

THIS alliance diſconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the conſternation into which theſe conquerors

querors had throw'n them, repreſented them to the Mogul ſoldiers as men come down from heaven, or riſen from the waters, of a ſpecies infinitely ſuperior to the Aſiatics, and far ſurpaſſing them in valour, genius, and knowlege. The army, ſeized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akbar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conqueſt muſt command his own forces, haſtened to his camp. He did not heſitate to promiſe his troops that they ſhould ſubdue a people enervated by luxury, riches, pleaſures, and the heat of the climate; and that the glory of purging Aſia of that handful of banditti was reſerved for them. The army, thus encouraged, expreſſed their ſatisfaction, and marched on with confidence. They ſoon came to an engagement; the Portugueſe, ill ſeconded by their allies, were ſurrounded and cut to pieces; Badur fled, and never appeared again. All the cities of Guzarat haſtened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom, in 1565, became a province of that vaſt empire which was ſoon to ſubdue all Indoſtan.

UNDER the Mogul government, which was then in it's full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tranquillity than before. This ſtate of ſecurity gave a new impulſe to every individual. All the powers of the mind were unfolded; and every ſpecies of induſtry acquired a degree of improvement before unknow'n. It became neceſſary to find a ſtaple where all theſe treaſures were to be collected; and Surat came into poſſeſſion of this valuable prerogative.

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Origin and progreſs of Surat.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Surat was nothing more than a mean hamlet, conſiſting of ſome fiſhermen's huts, ſtanding upon the river Tapti, at a few miles diſtance from the ocean. The advantage of it's ſituation drew there ſome workmen and ſome merchants. They were plundered three or four times by pirates; and it was to put a ſtop to theſe deſtructive inroads, that a fortreſs was built in 1524. At this period, the place acquired a degree of importance which had conſiderably increaſed, when the Moguls made themſelves maſters of it. As this was the only maritime town which had then ſubmitted to their yoke, they contracted the habit of providing themſelves with all their articles of luxury from thence. On the other hand, the Europeans, who had not any of the great ſettlements they have ſince made at Bengal and on the coaſt of Coromandel, bought moſt of their Indian merchandiſe there. They were all collected at this ſpot, as the people of Surat had taken care to form a navy ſuperior to that of their neighbours.

Their ſhips, which laſted for ages, were moſtly of a thouſand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very ſtrong wood called Teck. Inſtead of launching them with a coſtly apparatus and complicated engines, they let the tide into the dock, as we have done ſince, and thus ſet them afloat. The cordage was made of the outward bark of the cocoa-tree; it was rougher and leſs pliable than our's, but at leaſt as ſtrong. If their cotton ſails were neither ſo

ſtrong nor ſo laſting as our hempen ones, they were more eaſily folded, and leſs apt to be tor'n. Inſtead of pitch, they made uſe of the gum of a tree called Damar, which was as good, or better. The ſkill of their officers, though but moderate, was ſufficient for the ſeas and the ſeaſons in which they ſailed. With regard to their ſailors, commonly called Laſcars, the Europeans have found them ſerviceable in their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed ſucceſsfully in bringing home into our ſtormy latitudes ſuch ſhips as had loſt their crews.

When we hardly ſuſpected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, we found that theſe principles were already know'n and practiſed in this part of Aſia. Money was to be had there at a low price, and bills of exchange might be obtained for every market in India. Inſurances for the moſt diſtant navigations were very common. Such was the honeſty of theſe traders, that bags of money, ticketed and ſealed by the bankers, would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportioned to the facility with which they were to be acquired by induſtry. Thoſe of five or ſix millions * were not uncommon, and ſome were even more conſiderable.

Manners of the inhabitants of Surat.

These fortunes were moſtly poſſeſſed by the Banians, a ſet of traders noted for their honeſty. A few moments were ſufficient for them to com-

* About 240,000l. on an average.

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plete the moſt important concerns. Theſe were generally tranſacted in the public markets. The perſon who wiſhed to ſell, announced in few words, and in a low voice, the value of his merchandiſe. He was anſwered by another man taking hold of his hand in a concealed manner. The buyer uſed to ſignify, by the number of fingers which he bent, or extended, how much leſs than the price required he meant to give; and thus the bargain was moſt frequently concluded, without a ſingle word having paſſed between the parties. In order to ratify it, the contractors uſed to take hold of each other's hand a ſecond time; and an agreement made with this degree of ſimplicity was always inviolable. If difficulties aroſe, a circumſtance which very rarely happened, theſe prudent men preſerved, in the moſt complicated diſcuſſions, an evenneſs of temper, and a degree of politeneſs, which it would not be eaſy for us to form any conception of.

THEIR children, who aſſiſted at all bargains, were early trained to this gentleneſs of manners. Upon the firſt dawning of reaſon, they were initiated into all the myſteries of trade. It was a common thing to ſee a child, of ten or twelve years old, able to ſupply his father's place. What a contraſt, what a difference, between this and the education of our children; and yet, what a diſtance between the attainments of the Indians and the progreſs of our knowlege!

SUCH of the Banians as had Abyſſinian ſlaves, a circumſtance very uncommon among theſe good-

good-natured men, treated them with a degree of humanity which muſt appear ſingular to us. They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, trained them to buſineſs, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themſelves, and not only ſuffered them to enjoy the profits, but even allowed them to diſpoſe of theſe advantages in favour of their deſcendents, if they had any.

The expences of the Banians were not proportioned to their fortunes. As they were reſtrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat, or drinking ſtrong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain diſhes. They never departed from this frugality, except upon the ſettlement of their children. On this ſingle occaſion, no expence was ſpared for the entertainment, the muſic, the dancing, and the fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding had coſt. Sometimes it amounted to a hundred thouſand crowns *.

Even their women had a taſte for this ſimplicity of manners; and all their ambition conſiſted in making themſelves agreeable to their huſbands. Perhaps the great veneration, in which they held the nuptial tie, aroſe from the cuſtom of marrying them in their earlieſt infancy. That ſentiment was, in their opinion, the moſt ſacred part of their religion. They never allowed themſelves the leaſt converſation with ſtrangers. Leſs reſerve would not have ſatisfied their huſbands, who could

* 12,500l.

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not hear, without aſtoniſhment, of the familiarity that prevailed between the two ſexes in Europe. When they were told, that this freedom was attended with no ill conſequence, they were not convinced; but ſhook their heads, and anſwered by one of their proverbs, which ſignifies, *That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can hardly keep it from melting.*

With different cuſtoms, the Parſees had ſtill a more reſpectable character. They were robuſt, handſome, and indefatigable men, adapted to all kinds of labour, but excelling particularly in the building of ſhips, and in agriculture. Such was their mildneſs and upright conduct, that they were never called up before a magiſtrate for any act of violence, or any fraudulent contract. The ſerenity of their minds was painted on all their features, and in every look; and their converſation was animated by a temperate cheerfulneſs. They delighted in rhymes, and ſeldom ſpoke, even about the moſt ſerious affairs, otherwiſe than in verſe. They had no fixed place of worſhip; but they uſed to aſſemble every morning and evening upon the high road, or near a fountain, to adore the riſing and the ſetting ſun. Even the ſight of the leaſt ſpark of fire interrupted all their occupations, and excited their ſenſibility, in the contemplation of that beneficent luminary. Inſtead of burning the bodies of their dead, as the Indians did, they depoſited them in towers of an extreme height, where they ſerved as food to birds of prey. Their predilection for the followers of their religion, did not prevent them

them from being moved with the afflictions of all men, whom they aſſiſted with generoſity. Their pity extended itſelf even to animals. One of their moſt favourite inclinations was to buy ſlaves, to give them a good education, and to reſtore them afterwards to liberty. Their number, their union with each other, and their riches, ſometimes rendered them ſuſpicious to government; but theſe prejudices never prevailed for any length of time, againſt the peaceable and regular conduct of theſe good people. The only thing they could be cenſured for, was, a diſguſting uncleanlineſs, under the appearance of the moſt refined neatneſs, and a too frequent uſe of an intoxicating kind of liquor, peculiar to themſelves. Such were the Parſees at their arrival in India; ſuch have they maintained themſelves in the midſt of the revolutions that have ſo frequently overturned the aſylum they had choſen; and ſuch do they ſtill remain.

How widely diſtant were the Moguls from theſe pure and auſtere manners! No ſooner had theſe Mohammedans acquired the poſſeſſion of Surat, than they embarked in multitudes to go to Mecca. Several of theſe pilgrims uſed to ſtop at the Port before their voyage; and a ſtill greater number at their return. The conveniences of life, which were more multiplied in this famous city than in the reſt of the empire, even induced many of the moſt opulent to fix their reſidence there. Their days were ſpent in indolence, or in pleaſure. One part of the morning was employed in taking pains to arch their eye-brows, to

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ſettle their beards, and to paint their nails, and the inſide of their hands. The reſt of the day was devoted to riding on horſeback, ſmoking, drinking coffee, or perfuming themſelves; or was ſpent in reclining upon beds of roſes, to hear fabulous ſtories recounted, and in cultivating the poppy, a kind of amuſement which had the moſt powerful attractions for them.

The entertainments in which theſe voluptuous men frequently indulged themſelves, in order to prevent the tædium of a too uniform kind of life, were begun by an aſtoniſhing profuſion of refreſhments, ſweetmeats, and the moſt exquiſite perfumes. Theſe quiet amuſements were followed by feats of ſtrength, or agility uſually exerciſed by the natives of Bengal. Theſe were ſucceeded by muſic, which might, perhaps, have been grating to a nice ear, although theſe orientaliſts delighted in it. The night was uſhered in by fireworks of a leſs glaring light than our's, and the reſt of it was exhauſted by ſucceſſive bands of dancers, more or leſs numerous according to the rank or opulence of thoſe in whoſe ſervice they were engaged. When a ſatiety of pleaſures invited to repoſe, a kind of violin was introduced, which by ſoft, uniform, and frequently repeated ſounds, lulled them to ſleep. The moſt corrupt of them uſed to throw themſelves into the arms of ſome young Abyſſinian ſlave, and employed every artifice practiſed in theſe regions, to heighten this moſt infamous of all paſſions.

The women were never admitted to theſe diverſions, but they had alſo their dancers to themſelves,

ſelves, and indulged in other amuſements. The preference which their huſbands generally gave to courtezans, ſtifled in their heart every ſentiment of affection to them, and conſequently of jealouſy among themſelves. Accordingly, they lived together in a tolerable ſtate of harmony. They even went ſo far as to rejoice when any new companion was announced to them, becauſe this was an increaſe of their ſociety. Nevertheleſs they had a great influence in all important affairs, and a Mogul was almoſt always determined by the advice of his harem. Such of theſe wives as had no children, frequently went out to viſit relations of their own ſex. The reſt might have enjoyed the ſame liberty, had they not preferred the honour of their ſons, which is ſingularly made to depend upon the opinion entertained of the virtue of their mothers. They educated their children themſelves with much care and tenderneſs, and never parted from them, not even when they quitted their father's houſe.

If magnificence and conveniences could ſupply the place of love and ſentiment, a harem would have been a moſt delightful place of reſidence: every thing that could incite agreeable ſenſations, was laviſhed with profuſion in theſe retreats, impenetrable to man. The pride of the Moguls had even ordained, that the women who ſhould be admitted to viſit them, ſhould be preſented with very rich preſents the firſt time of their coming, and ſhould always meet with a reception agreeable to the voluptuous taſte of theſe climates. The European ladies, whoſe familiarity with

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with the other ſex was revolting to Aſiatic prejudices, and who for that reaſon were thought to be of a very inferior tribe, were ſeldom allowed to penetrate into this kind of ſanctuary. One of them, well know'n in England by her talents, her graces, and her ſpirit of obſervation was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. The preference granted to Mrs. Draper enabled her to ſee and examine every thing. She did not find in theſe unhappy women, living in a ſtate of confinement, that air of diſdain or embarraſſment, which the little opportunity of exerting their faculties might have given them. Their manners appeared to her frank and eaſy; and their converſation was diſtinguiſhed by ſimplicity and ſoftneſs.

Although the other nations ſettled at Surat did not carry every ſpecies of voluptuouſneſs to exceſs, as the Moguls did, yet they were not without their pleaſures, in a city where the public edifices were generally deficient in taſte and ſymmetry. Private houſes had, indeed, no kind of appearance; but in all thoſe belonging to opulent perſons, gardens were ſeen filled with the moſt beautiful flowers; ſubterraneous dwellings contrived againſt the intenſe heats prevailing through part of the year; and ſalloons, where fountains were playing in baſons of marble, and which, by their freſhneſs and murmurings, invited them to ſoft repoſe.

One of the cuſtoms moſt univerſally adopted, was bathing; and after the bath, the body was rubbed, or kneaded, as it were, like dough. This operation gave a ſpring to the different parts

of

of the body, and an eaſy circulation to the fluids. The perſon who had undergone it thought himſelf almoſt a new being. The ſort of harmony which it re-eſtabliſhed throughout all the machine, led to a kind of intoxication, which excited an infinite variety of delightful ſenſations. This cuſtom was ſaid to be brought into India from China; and ſome epigrams of Martial, and declamations of Seneca, ſeem to hint, that it was not unknow'n to the Romans at the time when they refined upon every pleaſure, as the tyrants who enſlaved thoſe maſters of the world afterwards refined upon every torture.

Deſcription of the *Balliaderes*, more voluptuous at Surat.

THERE was another pleaſure, ſtill of a higher nature, perhaps, at Surat. This was derived from it's female dancers, or *Balliaderes*, a name which the Europeans have always given them, from the Portugueſe.

NUMBERS of theſe are collected together in ſeminaries of pleaſure. The moſt accompliſhed of theſe ſocieties are devoted to the richeſt and moſt frequented Pagodas. Their deſtination is to dance in the temples on their great feſtivals, and to be ſubſervient to the pleaſures of the Bramins. Theſe prieſts, who have not taken the artful and deceitful vow of renouncing the enjoyment of all pleaſures, in order to have an opportunity of indulging in them more freely, chuſe rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile the ſtate of celibacy or wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are ſo highly jealous of the dancers, whoſe worſhip and vows they ſhare with the gods, that they

they never ſuffer them, without reluctance, to contribute to the amuſement even of kings and great men.

The riſe of this ſingular inſtitution is not know'n. Probably one Bramin, who had a concubine, or a wife, aſſociated with another Bramin, who had likewiſe his concubine, or his wife; and, in proceſs of time, the mixture of ſo many Bramins and women occaſioned ſo many acts of infidelity, that the women became common to all thoſe prieſts. Let but a number of ſingle perſons, of both ſexes, be collected in a cloyſter, and a commonalty of men and women will ſoon take place.

By this mutual intercourſe jealouſy was probably extinguiſhed; and the women were not uneaſy at the increaſe of their numbers, nor the Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new conqueſt than a rivalſhip.

It is no leſs probable, that, in order to palliate the infamy of this licentiouſneſs in the eyes of the people, all theſe women were conſecrated to the ſervice of the altar; and that the people readily conſented to this kind of ſuperſtition, as it inſured their wives and daughters from ſeduction, by confining the lawleſs deſires of theſe Monks to one particular ſpot.

The contrivance of ſtamping a ſacred character upon theſe courtezans, might poſſibly make parents the more willing to part with their beautiful daughters, and to conſent that they ſhould follow their calling, and devote themſelves to theſe ſeminaries, from whence the ſuperannuated women might

might return to ſociety without diſgrace: for there is no crime that may not be ſanctified, no virtue that may not be debaſed, by the intervention of the Gods. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty prieſt, be made ſubverſive of all morality. He will affirm, not that ſuch a thing is pleaſing to the Gods, becauſe it is good; but that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is pleaſing to the Gods.

THE Bramins wanted only to gain another point, in order to complete this inſtitution; which was, to perſuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleaſing to the gods, to marry a *Balliadere* in preference to all other women, and conſequently to induce them to ſolicit the remains of their debaucheries as a particular mark of favour.

IN every city there are other companies, not ſo ſelect as the former, for the amuſement of the rich, and others for their wives. Perſons of every religion, and of every caſt, may employ them. There are even ſtrolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who, having been themſelves trained up in theſe ſeminaries, are promoted in time to the direction of them.

THESE handſome girls have the cuſtom, as ſingular as it is diſguſtful, of being always followed by an old deformed muſician, whoſe employment is to beat time with an inſtrument of braſs, which the Europeans have lately borrowed of the Turks to add to their military muſic, and which in India is called a *tam*. The man who holds it, is continually repeating that word with ſuch vehemence,

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that by degrees he works himſelf up into dreadful convulſions; while the Balliaderes, intoxicated with the deſire of pleaſing, and the ſweets with which they are perfumed, are at length tranſported beyond their ſenſes.

THEIR dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the deſign, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence of theſe ballets, are all expreſſive of this paſſion, with all it's raptures and extravagances.

EVERY thing conſpires to the amazing ſucceſs of theſe voluptuous women; the art and richneſs of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in ſetting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling over their ſhoulders, or braided and turned up, is loaded with diamonds, and ſtuck with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious ſtones. Even their noſe jewels, an ornament which ſhocks us at firſt ſight, has ſomething pleaſing in it, and ſets off all the other ornaments by a certain ſymmetry, the effect of which, though inexplicable, is yet ſenſibly felt by degrees.

NOTHING can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts, as one of the moſt ſtriking marks of their beauty. To prevent them from growing large or ill-ſhaped, they incloſe them in two caſes, made of an exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and ſo ſupple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with

with a leaf of gold ſtudded with diamonds. This is certainly one of the moſt refined kind of ornaments, and the beſt calculated to preſerve beauty. They take it off and put it on again with ſingular facility. This covering of the breaſt does not prevent the palpitations, heavings, and tender emotions of it from being perceived: it conceals nothing that can contribute to excite deſire.

Most of theſe dancers imagine it an addition to the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their looks, to trace a black circle round their eyes with a hair bodkin, dipped in the powder of antimony. This borrowed beauty, celebrated by all the eaſtern poets, and which appeared very ſingular at firſt to the Europeans, has at length become perfectly agreeable to them.

The whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the Balliaderes, conſiſts in the art of pleaſing. It is not eaſy to reſiſt their ſeducing manners. They are even preferred to thoſe beauties of Caſſimere, who fill the ſeraglios of Indoſtan, as the fair Georgians and Circaſſians do thoſe of Iſpahan and Conſtantinople. The modeſty, or rather the reſerve of proud ſlaves, ſequeſtered from the ſociety of men, cannot balance the miraculous arts of theſe expert courtezans.

Extent of the commerce of Surat. Revolutions it has experienced.

They were no where ſo much in repute as at Surat, the richeſt and moſt populous city in India. It began to decline in 1664; and was pillaged by the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty-five or thirty millions *. The plunder would have been

* About 1,200,000l. on an average.

infinitely greater, had not the Engliſh and Dutch eſcaped the public calamity, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the moſt valuable effects been lodged in the caſtle, which was out of the enemy's reach. This loſs made the inhabitants more cautious. They built walls round the city to prevent the like misfortune, the effects of which were removed, when the Engliſh, in 1686, with ſhameful and inexcuſable rapacity, ſtopped all the ſhips that were fitting out at Surat to be diſpatched to the ſeveral ſeas. This piracy, which laſted three years, deprived this famous mart of almoſt every branch of trade that was not it's own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to it's own natural riches.

Other pirates have ſince infeſted thoſe latitudes, and from time to time diſturbed the trade of Surat. Even the caravans, that carried the merchandiſe to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not always ſecured from the attacks of the ſubjects of the independent Rajas, which they met with on the ſeveral roads. A ſingular expedient was formerly contrived for the ſecurity of the caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or child, of a race eſteemed ſacred by the nations they dreaded. When the banditti appeared, the guardians of the caravans threatened to deſtroy themſelves if they perſiſted in their reſolution of plundering it, and actually did ſo if they did not yield to their remonſtrances. Theſe profligate men, who had not been reſtrained by reſpect of blood held ſacred,

cred, were excommunicated, degraded, and caſt out of their tribe. The dread of theſe ſevere puniſhments was ſometimes a check upon avarice; but ſince univerſal commotions have prevailed in Indoſtan, no conſideration can allay the thirſt of gold.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe misfortunes, Surat is ſtill a great trading city. The produce of the numberleſs manufactures throughout Guzarat is depoſited in it's warehouſes. A great part is carried into the inland countries; the reſt is conveyed to all parts of the globe by continual voyages.

THE goods more commonly know'n are, 1ſt, Dutties, a kind of coarſe unbleached cloth, wor'n in Perſia, Arabia, Abyſſinia, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; and blue linens, which are diſpoſed of in the ſame manner, and are likewiſe ſold to the Engliſh and Dutch for their Guinea trade.

2. THE blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are wor'n for mantles in Arabia and Turkey: ſome are coarſe, and ſome fine, and ſome even mixed with gold for the uſe of the rich.

3. THE white linens of Barokia, ſo well know'n by the name of Baftas. As they are extremely fine, they make ſummer caftans for the Turks and Perſians. The ſort of muſlin, with a gold ſtripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the ſame place.

4. THE printed callicoes of Amadabat, the colours of which are as bright, as fine, and as durable, as thoſe of Coromandel. They are wor'n in Perſia, in Turkey, and in Europe. The rich people of

Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca iſlands, make pagnes and coverlets of theſe chintzes.

5. The gauzes of Bairapour; the blue ones are worn by the common people in Perſia and Turkey for their ſummer clothing, and the red ones by perſons of higher rank. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their turbans of theſe gauzes.

6. Mixed ſtuffs of ſilk and cotton, plain, ſtriped, ſome with ſattin ſtripes, ſome mixed with gold and ſilver. If they were not ſo dear, they would be eſteemed even in Europe for the brightneſs of their colours, and the fine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are ſo indifferent. They ſoon wear out; but this is of little conſequence in the ſeraglios of Turkey and Perſia where they are uſed.

7. Some are of ſilk, called tapis. Theſe are pagnes of ſeveral colours, much eſteemed in the eaſtern parts of India. Many more would be woven, if it had not been neceſſary to uſe foreign materials, which enhance the price too much.

8. Shauls, very light, warm, and fine cloths, made of the wool of Caſſimere. They are dyed of different colours, ſtriped, and flowered. They are wor'n for a winter dreſs in Turkey, Perſia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this fine wool turbans are woven, that are ell-wide, and a little more than three ells long, which ſell for as much as a thouſand crowns *. Though this wool

* 125 l.

be

be ſometimes manufactured at Surat, the fineſt works of this kind are made at Caſſimere.

Beside the prodigious quantity of cotton made uſe of in the manufactures of Surat, ſeven or eight thouſand bales at leaſt are annually diſpatched to Bengal. A much greater quantity is ſent to China, Perſia, and Arabia, when the crops are very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus is carried down the Ganges, where it is always ſold at a higher price.

Though Surat receives, in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China; ſilk from Bengal and Perſia; maſts and pepper from Malabar; gums, dates, dried fruits, copper, and pearls, from Perſia; perfumes and ſlaves from Arabia; great quantities of ſpices from the Dutch; iron, lead, cloth, cochineal, and ſome hard-wares from the Engliſh; the balance is ſo much in her favour, as to bring in yearly twenty-five or twenty-ſix millions of livres * in ready money. The profit would be much greater, if the riches of the court of Delhi were not conveyed into another channel.

This balance, however, could never riſe again to what it was when the French ſettled at Surat in 1668. Their leader's name was Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grow'n old in the ſervice of the Dutch Company. Hamilton ſays, that this able man, who had ingratiated himſelf with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a houſe for his maſters on

* From 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d. to 1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.

the iſland where the factory ſtood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a caſtle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification, did not entertain any ſuſpicion of it. They ſurpriſed ſome pieces of cannon that were ſending from Batavia, and informed the court of what was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As he had nothing reaſonable to allege in his vindication, he was treated with great ſeverity and contempt. His beard was plucked up by the roots, a fool's cap and coat were put upon him, and in this condition he was expoſed to the inſults of the populace, and baniſhed from the empire. The reception he met with at Java gave him a diſguſt againſt the intereſt he had eſpouſed; and, actuated by revenge, he went over to the French, and became their agent.

Enterprize of the French on the iſlands of Ceylon and St. Thomas. Their ſettlement at Pondicherry.

SURAT, where they had fixed him, did not anſwer his idea of a chief ſettlement. He diſliked the ſituation; he lamented his being obliged to purchaſe his ſafety by ſubmiſſion; he foreſaw it would be a diſadvantage to carry on trade in competition with richer nations, who knew more, and were in greater eſteem, than themſelves. He wiſhed to find an independent port in the center of India, or in ſome of the Spice Iſlands, without which he thought it impoſſible for any Company to ſupport itſelf. The Bay of Trinquemale, in the iſland of Ceylon, appeared to him to unite all theſe advantages; and he accordingly ſailed for that place with a powerful ſquadron, which had been ſent him from Europe, under the command of

of La Haye, who was to act under his direction. The French believed, or feigned to believe, that a ſettlement might be made there without incroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whoſe property had never been acknowleged by the ſovereign of the iſland, with whom the former had entered into a treaty.

All that was alleged might indeed be true, but the event was not the more ſucceſsful. A project which ought to have been kept a profound ſecret, was divulged; an expedition which ought to have been effected by ſurpriſe, was executed deliberately; and the French were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not poſſibly have received orders to hazard an engagement. The greater part of the ſhips crews, and of all the land forces, periſhed by want and ſickneſs; ſome men were left in a ſmall fort that had been erected, where they were ſoon compelled to ſurrender. With the remaining few who had ſurvived the hardſhips of this expedition, the French went in ſearch of proviſions on the coaſt of Coromandel; but finding none either on the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, or any where elſe, impelled by deſpair, they attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

This town, which had long been in a flouriſhing condition, had been built by the Portugueſe above a hundred years before. The king of Golconda, having conquered the Carnatic, did not ſee without regret, ſo important a place in foreign hands; he ſent his generals to attack it in 1662,

and they made themſelves maſters of it. The fortifications, though conſiderable and in good repair, did not ſtop the progreſs of the French, who took them by ſtorm in 1672. They were ſoon attacked here, and were forced to ſurrender two years after; becauſe the Dutch, who were at war with Lewis XIV., joined with the Indians to expell them.

THIS laſt event would have entirely ruined the enterpriſe, after all the expence the government had been at to ſupport the Company, had not Martin been one of the merchants ſent on board La Haye's ſquadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondicherry, that had been lately ceded to him, and was riſing to a city, when the Company entertained good hopes of a new ſettlement, which they had now an opportunity of forming in India.

The French are invited to Siam. Deſcription of that kingdom.

SOME miſſionaries had preached the goſpel at Siam. They had gained the love of the people by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue or avarice, they gave no jealouſy to the government nor to the people; they had inſpired them with reſpect and love for the French in general, and in particular for Lewis XIV.

A GREEK, of a reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit, named Conſtantine Faulkon, in his travels to Siam, had ſo far engaged the affections of the prince, that in a ſhort time he raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, or barcalon; an office which nearly anſwers to the antient *maires* of the palace of France.

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FAULKON governed both the people and the king in the moſt deſpotic manner. The prince was weak, a valetudinarian, and had no iſſue. His miniſter conceived a project to ſucceed him; poſſibly to dethrone him. It is well know'n that theſe attempts are as eaſy and as frequent in abſolute governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of juſtice; where the origin and meaſure of his authority is regulated by fundamental and immutable laws, which are under the guardianſhip of numbers of able magiſtrates. There the enemies of the ſovereign ſhew that they are enemies of the ſtate; there they find themſelves ſoon thwarted in their deſigns by all the forces of the nation; becauſe, by rebelling againſt the chief, they rebel againſt the laws, which are the ſtanding and unalterable will of the nation.

FAULKON formed the deſign of making the French ſubſervient to his ſcheme, as ſome ambitious men had formerly made uſe of a guard of ſix hundred Japaneſe, who had often diſpoſed of the crown of Siam. He ſent ambaſſadors into France in 1684, to make a tender of his maſter's alliance, to offer ſea-ports to the French merchants, and to aſk for ſhips and troops.

THE oſtentatious vanity of Lewis XIV. took advantage of this embaſſy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he certainly deſerved commendation, perſuaded him, that his fame ſpread throughout the world, had procured to him the homage of the Eaſt. He was not ſatisfied with the enjoyment of theſe vain honours; but en-

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endeavoured to improve the diſpoſitions of the king of Siam to the benefit of the India Company, and ſtill more of the miſſionaries. He ſent out a ſquadron in which there were a greater number of Jeſuits than of traders; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French ambaſſadors, directed by the Jeſuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to thoſe of commerce.

THE Company ſtill entertained great hopes of the ſettlement at Siam, and theſe hopes were not ill-grounded.

THAT kingdom, though divided by a ridge of mountains that is continued till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is ſo prodigiouſly fruitful, that many of it's cultivated lands yield two hundred per cent. Some will even bear plentiful crops ſpontaneouſly. The corn, collected as it was at firſt produced, without care and without trouble, left as it were to nature, falls off and periſhes in the field where it grew, in order to vegetate again in the waters of the ſtream that flows through the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in ſuch plenty and variety, or are ſo wholeſome, as in this delightful ſpot. Some are peculiar to the country; and thoſe which are equally the produce of other countries have a much finer ſmell, and are much higher flavoured, than in any other part of the world.

THE earth, always covered with theſe treaſures, which are conſtantly ſpringing up afreſh, alſo conceals, under a very ſuperficial ſurface, mines of

of gold, copper, loadſtone, iron, lead, and calin, a ſpecies of tin, which is highly valued throughout Aſia.

All theſe advantages are rendered uſeleſs by the moſt dreadful tyranny. A prince corrupted by his power, while he is indulging in his ſeraglio, oppreſſes his people by his caprices, or ſuffers them to be oppreſſed by his indolence. At Siam there are no ſubjects, all are ſlaves. The men are divided into three claſſes: the firſt ſerve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and are employed in different manufactures in his palace. The ſecond are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the ſtate. The third claſs are deſtined to ſerve the magiſtrates, the miniſters, and principal officers of the kingdom. Every Siameſe advanced to any eminent poſt, is allowed a certain number of men who are at his diſpoſal; ſo that the ſalaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, becauſe they are not paid in money, but in men, who coſt the prince nothing. Theſe unfortunate people are regiſtered at the age of ſixteen. Every one on the firſt ſummons muſt repair to the poſt aſſigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the baſtinado.

In a country where all the men muſt work for the government during ſix months in the year, without being paid or ſubſiſted, and during the other ſix to earn a maintenance for the whole year; in ſuch a country, the very lands muſt feel the effects of tyranny, and conſequently there is no property. The delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch

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monarch and the nobles, are not ſuffered to ripen in thoſe of private men. If the ſoldiers who are ſent out to examine the orchards diſcover ſome tree laden with choice fruits, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or that of his miniſters. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is anſwerable for the fruit under very ſevere penalties.

THE men are not only ſlaves to men, but alſo to the beaſts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Thoſe of his palace are particularly taken care of, and have extraordinary honours paid to them. The meaneſt have fifteen ſlaves to attend them, who are conſtantly employed in cutting hay, and gathering bananas and ſugar-canes for them. The king takes ſo much pride in theſe creatures, which are of no real uſe, that he eſtimates his power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding theſe animals well, their attendants will drive them into gardens and cultivated lands, that they may trample upon them, unleſs the owners will purchaſe an exemption from theſe vexations by continual preſents. No man would dare to incloſe his field againſt the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate.

THESE horrors are revolting to our minds; and yet we have no right to diſcredit them; we who boaſt of ſome philoſophy, and of a milder kind of government; and who nevertheleſs live in a kingdom where the wretched peaſant is loaded with

with irons, if he ſhould dare to mow his meadow, or to diſturb his field during the ſeaſon of the coupling and hatching of the partridges; where he is obliged to leave his vines to the mercy of the rabbits, and ſuffer his harveſt to become a prey to deers, ſtags, and boars; and where he would be ſentenced to the galleys, if he had the boldneſs to ſtrike, either with his whip, or with a ſtick, any of theſe voracious animals.

Such various acts of tyranny make the Siameſe deteſt their native country, though they conſider it as the beſt upon earth. Moſt of them fly from oppreſſion into the foreſts, where they lead a ſavage life, infinitely preferable to that of ſociety corrupted by deſpotiſm. So great is this deſertion, that, from the port of Mergui to Juthia the capital of the empire, one may travel for a week together, without meeting with the leaſt ſign of population, through an immenſe extent of country, well watered, the ſoil of which is excellent, and ſtill bears the marks of former cultivation. This fine country is now over-run with tigers.

It was formerly inhabited by men. Beſide the natives, it was full of ſettlements that had been ſucceſſively formed there by the nations ſituated to the eaſt of Aſia. Their inducement was the immenſe trade carried on there. All hiſtorians atteſt, that in the beginning of the ſixteenth century a great number of ſhips came into theſe roads every year. The tyranny which prevailed ſoon after, ſucceſſively deſtroyed the mines, the manufactures, and agriculture. All the foreign merchants, and even thoſe of the nation, were involved in the

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ſame ruin. The ſtate fell into confuſion, and conſequently became languid. The French, on their arrival, found it thus reduced. General poverty prevailed, and none of the arts were exerciſed; while the people were under the dominion of a deſpotic tyrant, who, in attempting to monopolize all the trade, inevitably deſtroyed it. The few ornaments and articles of luxury that were conſumed at court, and in the houſes of the great, came from Japan. The Siameſe held the Japaneſe in high eſtimation, and preferred their works to all others.

Advantages which the French might have derived from Siam. The errors which occaſioned the loſs of them.

It was no eaſy matter to divert them from this attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French induſtry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Chriſtian religion, which the prieſts of the foreign miſſions had preached to them, and not without ſucceſs; but the Jeſuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abuſed the favour they enjoyed at Court, and drew upon themſelves the hatred of the people. This odium was transferred from them to their religion. They built churches before there were any chriſtians to frequent them. They founded monaſteries, and by theſe proceedings occaſioned the common people and the Talapoys to revolt. The Talapoys are the monks of the country; ſome of whom lead a ſolitary life, and others are buſy intriguing men. They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of Sommona Kodom. That lawgiver of the Siameſe was long honoured as a ſage, and has ſince been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity,

deity, a ſon of God. A variety of marvellous ſtories are told of this man: He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing elſe to beſtow on him. Another time he gave away his wife. He commanded the ſtars, the rivers, and the mountains. But he had a brother, who frequently oppoſed his deſigns for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable had prejudiced the Siameſe againſt the religion of a crucified God; and they could not worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he died the ſame death as the brother of Sommona Kodom.

If the French could not carry their commodities to Siam, they could at leaſt gradually inſpire the people with a taſte for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themſelves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the eaſt. The ſituation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it extends one hundred and ſixty leagues along the ſea-coaſt on the one gulph, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the ſeas in that part of the world. The fortreſs of Bancoc built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all tranſactions they might have had with China, the Philippines, or any of the eaſtern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the kingdom, and one of the beſt in Aſia, which had likewiſe been ceded to them, would have greatly facilitated their trade with the coaſt of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal.

It

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It ſecured to them an advantageous intercourſe with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Lagos, countries ſtill more barbarous than Siam, but where the fineſt rubies in the world, and ſome gold duſt are to be found. All theſe countries, as well as Siam, produce the tree which yields that valuable gum, with which the Chineſe and Japaneſe make their varniſh; and whoever is in poſſeſſion of this commodity, may be certain of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

Beside the advantage of meeting with good ſettlements, which were no expence to the Company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the eaſt, they might have brought home from Siam, ivory, logwood, like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of caſſia, and all the buffalo and deer-ſkins that the Dutch formerly brought from thence. They might have grow'n pepper there, and, poſſibly, other ſpices which were not to be found in the country, as the people did not underſtand the culture of them, and becauſe the wretched inhabitants of Siam are ſo indifferent to every thing, that nothing ſucceeds with them.

The French paid no regard to theſe objects. The factors of the Company, the officers, and the Jeſuits, were equally ignorant of trade: the whole attention of the latter was taken up in converting the natives, and making themſelves maſters of them. At laſt, after having given but a weak aſſiſtance to Faulkon at the inſtant when he was ready to execute his deſigns, they were involved

in his disgrace; and the fortresses of Mergui and Bancoc, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the most cowardly of all people.

Views of the French upon Tonquin and Cochinchina. Description of these countries.

During the short time that the French were settled at Siam, the Company endeavoured to establish themselves at Tonquin. They flattered themselves that they might trade with safety and advantage with a nation which had for about seven centuries been instructed by the Chinese. Theism prevails among them, which is the religion of Confucius, whose precepts and writings are there holden in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the same agreement as in China in the principles of government, religion, laws, opinion, rites, and ceremonies: and though Tonquin has the same law-giver, it is far from having the same system of morality. We find there neither that respect for parents, that love for the prince, those reciprocal affections, nor those social virtues, which are met with in China; nor have they the same good order, police, industry, or activity.

This nation, which is devoted to excessive indolence, and is voluptuous without taste or delicacy, lives in constant distrust of it's sovereigns and of strangers. It is doubtful whether this mistrust proceeds from a natural restlessness of temper, or whether their spirit of sedition be owen to this circumstance, that the Chinese system of morality has enlightened the people without improving the government. Whatever be the progress of knowlege, whether it come from the people to the government, or from that to the people, it

is neceſſary that both ſhould be enlightened at the ſame time, or elſe the ſtate will be expoſed to fatal revolutions. Accordingly, in Tonquin, there is a continual ſtruggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languiſhes and tends to ruin, in conſequence of theſe diſſentions; and the calamities muſt increaſe, till the people have compelled their maſters to grow wiſer, or the maſters have rendered their ſubjects quite inſenſible. The Portugueſe and the Dutch, who had attempted to form ſome connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more ſucceſsful. No Europeans have ſince carried on that trade, except ſome few merchants of Madraſs, who have alternately forſaken and reſumed it. They divide with the Chineſe the exportation of copper and ordinary ſilks, the only commodities of any value that country affords.

Cochinchina lay too near to Siam not to draw the attention of the French; and they would probably have fixed there, had they had ſagacity enough to foreſee what degree of ſplendour that riſing ſtate would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philoſophical traveller for what little they know with certainty of that fine country. The following is the reſult of his obſervations:

When the French arrived in thoſe diſtant regions, they learned, that, about half a century before, a prince of Tonquin, as he fled from his ſovereign, who purſued him as a rebel, had with his ſoldiers

ſoldiers and adherents croſſed the river, which ſerves as a barrier between Tonquin and Cochinchina. The fugitives, who were warlike and civilized people, ſoon expelled the ſcattered inhabitants, who wandered about without any ſociety or form of government, or without any law, except that of mutual intereſt, which prompted them not to injure one another. Here they founded an empire upon the baſis of agriculture and property. Rice was the food the moſt eaſily cultivated, and the moſt plentiful; upon this article, therefore, the new coloniſts beſtowed their firſt attention. The ſea and the rivers attracted a number of inhabitants to their borders, by the profuſion of excellent fiſh they afforded. Domeſtic animals were bred in the country; ſome for food, others for labour. The inhabitants cultivated the trees they were moſt in want of, ſuch as the cotton for their clothing. The mountains and foreſts, which could not be cultivated, afforded wild fowl, metals, gums, perfumes, and wood of an excellent kind. Theſe productions ſerved as ſo many materials, means, and objects of commerce. One hundred gallies were built, which are conſtantly employed in defending the coaſts of the kingdom.

All theſe ſeveral advantages of nature were well beſtowed upon a people of a mild and humane diſpoſition, which they partly owe to their women: whether this influence they acquire be owen to their beauty, or whether it be the particular effect of their aſſiduity and of their ſkill in buſineſs, is not eaſy to determine: in general we

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obſerve, that in the firſt beginning of all ſocieties, the women are ſooner civilized than the men. Even their weakneſs, and their ſedentary life, their being more taken up with various details, and with cares of a leſs important nature, furniſh them ſooner with that knowlege and experience, and incline them to thoſe domeſtic atttachments, which are the firſt promoters and ſtrongeſt ties of ſociety. This is, perhaps, the reaſon why, in many ſavage nations, the women are intruſted with the adminiſtration of civil government, which is but a higher degree of domeſtic œconomy. So long as the ſtate is but as one great family, the women are capable of undertaking the management of it. Then, undoubtedly, the people are happieſt, eſpecially in a climate where nature has left but little for man to do.

Such is the climate of Cochinchina. Accordingly, the people, though but imperfectly civilized, enjoy that happineſs which might excite the envy of more improved ſocieties. They have neither robbers nor beggars. Every one is at liberty to live at his own houſe, or at his neighbour's. A traveller freely enters a houſe in any village, ſits down to table, eats and drinks, without being invited or aſked any queſtions, and then goes away without acknowleging the civility. He is a man, and therefore a friend and relation of the family. If he were a foreigner, he would excite more curioſity, but would be equally welcome.

These cuſtoms are the relics of the government of the firſt ſix kings of Cochinchina, and derived

derived from the original contract entered into between the nation and their leader, before they croſſed the river that divides Tonquin from Cochinchina. Theſe men were weary of oppreſſion. They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard againſt the abuſe of authority, which is ſo apt to tranſgreſs it's due limits, if not kept under ſome reſtraint. Their chief, who had ſet them an example of liberty, and taught them to revolt, promiſed them that felicity which he himſelf choſe to enjoy; that of a juſt, mild, and parental government. He cultivated with them the land in which they had all taken refuge. He never demanded any thing of them, except an annual and voluntary contribution, to enable him to defend the nation againſt the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, purſued them beyond the river which ſeparated them from him.

This primitive contract was religiouſly obſerved for upwards of a century, under five or ſix ſucceſſors of that brave deliverer: but at laſt it has been infringed. The reciprocal and ſolemn engagement between the king and his people is ſtill renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general aſſembly of the whole nation, collected in an open field, where the oldeſt man preſides, and where the king only aſſiſts as a private perſon. He ſtill honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predeceſſors, ſet the example of labour to his ſubjects. When he ſpeaks of them, he ſtill ſays, *they are my children*; but they are no longer ſo. His courtiers have ſtiled

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themſelves his ſlaves, and have given him the pompous and ſacrilegious title of *king of heaven.* From that moment, men muſt have appeared to him but as ſo many inſects creeping on the ground. The gold which he has taken out of the mines, has put a ſtop to agriculture. He has deſpiſed the homely roof of his anceſtors, and would build a palace. It's circumference has been marked out, and is a league in extent. Thouſands of cannon planted round the walls of this palace, make it formidable to the people. A deſpotic monarch reſides there, who in a ſhort time will be ſecluded from the eyes of the people; and this concealment, which characteriſes the majeſty of eaſtern kings, will ſubſtitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

The diſcovery of gold has naturally brought on that of taxes; and the adminiſtration of the finances will ſoon take place of civil legiſlation and ſocial contract. Contributions are no longer voluntary, but extorted. Deſigning men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchaſe a right of committing crimes and the privilege of impunity; they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, and oppreſs the huſbandman. The traveller already ſees, as he paſſes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages forſaken by their inhabitants. This *king of heaven*, like the gods of Epicurus, careleſsly ſuffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the ſufferings and diſtreſſes of his people, who will ſoon fall into a ſtate of annihilation,

hilation, like the ſavages whoſe territories they now poſſeſs. All nations governed by deſpotiſm muſt inevitably periſh in this manner. If Cochin-china ſhould relapſe into that ſtate of confuſion out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly diſregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom. The Chineſe, who carry on the greateſt trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for ſmall work, and timber for building houſes and ſhips.

They alſo export from thence an immenſe quantity of ſugar, the raw at four livres * a hundred weight, the white at eight †, and ſugar-candy at ten ‡: very good ſilk, ſattins, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures: black and ordinary tea, which ſerves for the conſumption of common people: and ſuch excellent cinnamon, that it ſells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon. There is but a ſmall quantity of this; as it grows only upon one mountain, which is always ſurrounded with guards. Excellent pepper is another article; and ſuch pure iron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without ſmelting: gold of three and twenty carrats, which is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the Eaſt: aloes-wood, which is more or leſs eſteemed as it is more or leſs reſinous. The pieces that contain moſt of this reſin are commonly taken from the heart, or from

* 3s. 4d. † 6s. 8d. ‡ 8s. 4d.

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the root of the tree. They are called calunbac, and are always ſold for their weight in gold to the Chineſe, who account them the higheſt cordial in nature. They are carefully preſerved in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying. When they are to be adminiſtered, they are ground upon a marble, with ſuch liquids as are beſt ſuited to the diſorder they are intended to remove. The inferior kind of aloes-wood, which always ſells for a hundred livres * a pound at leaſt, is carried to Perſia, Turkey, and Arabia. They uſe it to perfume their clothes, and ſometimes their apartments, upon very extraordinary occaſions, and then they mix it with amber. It is alſo employed for another purpoſe. A cuſtom prevails among theſe nations, when they are deſirous of ſhewing their viſitors great marks of civility, to preſent them with pipes, then with coffee and ſweetmeats. When converſation begins to grow languid, the ſherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As ſoon as the ſtranger riſes to go away, they bring in a little pan with aloes-wood, and perfume his beard, ſprinkling it with roſe-water.

THOUGH the French, who had ſcarce any thing elſe to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimſtone, were obliged to trade with Cochin-china chiefly in money, yet they were under a neceſſity of purſuing this trade in competition with the Chineſe. This inconvenience might have been obviated by the profit that would have been

* 4l. 3s. 4d.

made

made upon goods ſent to Europe, or ſold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honeſty, the eſſentials of an acting and laſting trade, are forſaking theſe regions, which were formerly ſo flouriſhing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and conſequently unjuſt. In a ſhort time no greater number of ſhips will be ſeen in their harbours than in thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, where they were ſcarcely know'n.

However this may be, the French Company driven from Siam, and without hopes of ſettling at the extremities of Aſia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, ſince they had left it without paying their debts. They had loſt the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loſs in the purchaſe of goods to anſwer the capricious demands of the mother-country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered the privilege they had forfeited. The Mogul government, which would have wiſhed to ſee a greater number of ſhips reſorting to Surat, often ſolicited the French to ſatisfy theſe claims; for they preferred them to the Engliſh, who had purchaſed of the court an exemption from all duties. Whether it were for want of honeſty, of ſkill, or of means, certain it is that the Company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry,

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when they were ſuddenly prevented by a bloody war, which had it's origin in remote cauſes.

The French loſe and recover Pondicherry, their principal ſettlement.

THE northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was miſtreſs of the world, eſtabliſhed a form of government which would not admit of augmenting their conqueſts, and kept every ſtate within it's natural limits. The abolition of the feudal laws, and the alterations conſequent upon it, ſeemed to tend a ſecond time to eſtabliſh a kind of univerſal monarchy; but the Auſtrian power, weakened by the great extent of it's poſſeſſions, and their diſtance from each other, could not ſubvert the bulwarks that were raiſing againſt it. After a whole century paſſed in conteſts, hopes, and diſappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whoſe ſtrength, poſition, and activity, rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert ſettled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of induſtry. If Lewis XIV. who may be ſaid to have been not, perhaps, the greateſt monarch of his age, but one who beſt ſupported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exerciſe of his power, and the ſenſe of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own ſubjects to his will, he wanted to exert the ſame power over his neighbours. His pride raiſed him more enemies, than his influence

and

and his genius could ſupply him with allies and reſources. He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyriſts and courtiers, who promiſed him univerſal monarchy; and the pleaſure he took in theſe adulations, contributed ſtill more than the extent of his power to inſpire a dread of univerſal conqueſt and ſlavery. The diſtreſſes and invectives of his proteſtant ſubjects, diſperſed by a tyrannical fanaticiſm, completed the hatred he had incurred by his ſucceſſes, and by the abuſe he had made of his proſperity.

The Prince of Orange, a man of a ſteady, upright diſpoſition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is conſiſtent with ambition, became the chief inſtigator of all theſe reſentments, which he had long fomented by his negociations and his emiſſaries. France was attacked by the moſt formidable confederacy recorded in hiſtory, and yet ſhe was conſtantly, and in all parts, triumphant.

She was not ſo ſucceſsful in Aſia as in Europe. The Dutch firſt endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to reſtore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpoſe, was not to be bribed to agree to ſo perfidious a propoſal: His conſtant anſwer was, *The French have bought that place, it would be unjuſt to turn them out.* What the Raja refuſed to do, the Dutch did themſelves: they beſieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to reſtore it at the peace of Ryſwick, in a much better condition than they found it.

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MARTIN was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the Company with that wiſdom, ſkill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant invited many new ſettlers to Pondicherry, and made the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained there, and by his moderation and juſtice. He acquired the favour of the neighbouring princes, whoſe friendſhip was of conſequence to a weak and infant ſettlement. He choſe or formed proper perſons, whom he ſent to the markets of Aſia, and to the ſeveral princes of that empire. He had perſuaded the French, that as they were come laſt to India, that as they found themſelves there in a weak condition, and could not expect any aſſiſtance from their own country, they had no other way of ſucceeding, but by inſpiring the natives with a favourable opinion of their character. He induced them to lay aſide that levity, and thoſe contemptuous airs, which ſo often make their nation inſufferable to ſtrangers. They grew modeſt, gentle, and attentive to buſineſs; they learned the art of behaving ſuitably to the genius of the ſeveral nations, and to particular circumſtances. Thoſe who did not confine themſelves to the Company's ſervice, frequenting different courts, became acquainted with the places where the fineſt ſtuffs were manufactured, the ſtaples where the choiceſt commodities were to be met with, and, in ſhort, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

ALL

ALL that Martin had it in his power to accomplish, was to lay the foundation of future ſucceſs to the Company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he gained, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all this was not ſufficient to reſtore the declining ſtate of the Company, ſubject from it's infancy to ſuch diſorders as muſt at length certainly deſtroy it.

Decline of the French Company, and the cauſe of it.

HIS firſt plan was to eſtabliſh a great empire at Madagaſcar. A ſingle voyage carried over ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight perſons, who were made to expect a delightful climate and a rapid fortune, and found nothing but famine, diſcord, and death.

So unfortunate a beginning diſcouraged the adventurers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon merely with a view to follow the example of others, or in compliance with ſolicitations. The owners of ſhares had not made good their payments with ſo much punctuality as is required in commercial affairs. The government, which had engaged to advance, without intereſt, a fifth part of the ſums the Company were to receive, and which as yet was only bound to furniſh two millions *, again drew the ſame ſum out of the public treaſury, in hopes of ſupporting the work it had begun. Some time after, it's generoſity was carried ſtill further, in making a free gift of what at firſt was only lent.

* 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

THIS

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THIS encouragement from the miniſtry could not, however, enable the Company to proceed in their deſigns. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry; and to abandon their ſettlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tilſeri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon, and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and ſome were ill ſituated; but the inability they were under of ſupporting them, was the only reaſon that they were abandoned.

SOON after this, it became neceſſary to make further advances. In 1682, they gave permiſſion indiſcriminately to French ſubjects and foreigners to trade to the Eaſt-Indies for five years, on the Company's ſhips paying the freight that ſhould be agreed upon; and on condition that the goods brought home ſhould be depoſited in the Company's warehouſes, ſold at the ſame time with their's, and be ſubject to a duty of five *per cent*. The public ſo eagerly came into this propoſal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increaſe of theſe ſmall profits, which would be conſtant without any riſque. But the proprietors, leſs ſenſible of theſe moderate advantages, than jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

TO ſupport this monopoly with ſome decency, a fund was wanting. In 1684, the Company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a fourth part of their property; and in caſe any of them failed to pay the ſum required,

quired, their whole ſhare was to be made over to thoſe who ſhould pay it for them, after having reimburſed them a fourth of their capital. Whether from perverſeneſs, from particular motives, or from inability, many did not pay, ſo that their ſhares loſt three-fourths of their original value; and, to the diſgrace of the nation, there were men barbarous and unjuſt enough to enrich themſelves with their ſpoils.

An expedient ſo diſhonourable enabled them to fit out a few ſhips for Aſia; but new wants were ſoon felt. Their cruel ſituation, which continually grew worſe, put them upon demanding of the proprietors, in 1697, the reſtitution of the dividends of ten and twenty *per cent.* which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a propoſal raiſed a general clamour. The Company were obliged to have recourſe to the uſual method of borrowing. Theſe loans became more burdenſome, the more they were multiplied, as the ſecurity was more precarious.

As the Company was in want both of money and credit, the emptineſs of their coffers put it out of their power to afford thoſe advantages, and that encouragement to the merchant in India, without which he will neither work, nor ſet others to work. This inability reduced the French ſales to nothing. It is demonſtrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the ſpace of twenty years, the ſum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thouſand livres *.

* 379,166l. 13s. 4d.

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To theſe had been added other abuſes. The conduct of the adminiſtrators and agents for the Company had not been properly directed, or carefully looked into. The capital had been broken into, and dividends paid out of the ſtock, which ought only to have ariſen from the profits. The leaſt brilliant, and leaſt proſperous of all reigns, had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the eaſieſt, the ſafeſt, and the moſt advantageous that is carried on with Aſia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

The bloody war of 1689 added to the calamities of the India Company, even by the very ſucceſſes of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the ſeveral harbours in the kingdom, annoyed, by their vilgiance and bravery, the trade of Holland and England. In their numberleſs prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The Company, who by this competition were forced to ſell under prime coſt, endeavoured to find out ſome expedient to ſave themſelves from this danger, but could think of none that was reconcileable with the intereſt of the privateers; nor did the miniſter think proper to ſacrifice an uſeful ſet of men to a body, which had ſo long wearied him with their neceſſities and complaints.

Beside theſe, the Company had many more cauſes of diſcontent. The financiers had ſhew'n an open hatred for them, and were continually oppoſing or confining them. Supported by thoſe vile aſſociates which they always have at court, they

they endeavoured to put an end to the Indian trade, under the ſpecious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at firſt afraid of being expoſed to reproach, by departing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the moſt ſolemn edicts: but the farmers of the revenue found means to render thoſe privileges uſeleſs, which the miniſtry would not aboliſh, and the Company no longer enjoyed, without being abſolutely deprived of them.

HEAVY duties were ſucceſſively laid upon all India goods. Half a year ſeldom paſſed without ſome new regulation, ſometimes to allow, ſometimes to prohibit, the uſe of theſe commodities: there was a continued ſcene of contradictions in a part of adminiſtration, that would have required ſteady and invariable principles. All theſe variations gave the Europeans reaſon to think, that trade would with difficulty be eſtabliſhed in a kingdom where all depends upon the caprices of a miniſter, or the intereſt of thoſe who govern.

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt adminiſtration, the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the intereſted views of the comptrollers of finance, the oppreſſive ſpirit of the treaſury, joined to other cauſes, had prepared the ruin of the Company. The miſeries of the war, carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, haſtened their deſtruction.

EVERY reſource was exhauſted. The moſt ſanguine ſaw no proſpect of their being able to ſend out a fleet. Beſides, if by unexpected good for-

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tune ſome few weak veſſels ſhould be fitted out, it was to be feared they might be ſeized in Europe, or in India, by diſappointed creditors, who muſt neceſſarily be exaſperated. Theſe powerful motives determined the Company in 1707, to conſent that ſome rich merchants ſhould ſend their own ſhips to India, upon condition that they ſhould allow the Company fifteen *per cent.* profit upon the goods they ſhould bring home, and the right of taking ſuch ſhare in thoſe ſhips as their circumſtances ſhould admit of. Soon after this, they were even reduced to make over the whole and excluſive exerciſe of their privilege to ſome privateers of St. Malo, ſtill reſerving the ſame conceſſion, which for ſome years paſt had a certain degree kept them from ruin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this deſperate ſituation, in 1714 they ſolicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly expired, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. Although they had none of their capital left, and that their debts amounted to ten millions *, yet the miniſtry, who did not know, or would not perceive, that meaſures more prudential might be adopted, granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation was thwarted by the moſt incredible revolution that the finances of the kingdom ever experienced; the cauſe and effects of which will be more readily comprehended by thoſe who will take the trouble to follow us in our review of the moſt diſtant periods of the monarchy.

* 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

WE

BOOK IV.

Revolutions which have happened in the finances of France ſince the earlieſt times of the monarchy.

We are entirely unacquainted with the manner in which the primitive Gauls ſupplied the ſeveral wants of the confederate bodies of which they were members. Their deſcendents, under the dominion of the Romans, paid no other tax than the fifth of the fruit of their trees, and the tenth of the produce of their harveſts, in kind.

This impoſt was aboliſhed at the invaſion of the Franks, who did not ſubſtitute any other in lieu of it. The ſovereign, for his private expences, as well as for the exigences of the ſtate, had no other revenue than that which he acquired from his lands, which were extenſive and numerous. They were covered with woods, ponds, breeds of horſes, cattle, and ſlaves under the conduct of an active director, whoſe buſineſs it was to maintain order, to encourage induſtry, and to inſure plenty. The court went to live ſucceſſively upon theſe domains, which were entirely laid out in uſeful productions; and what they did not conſume was ſold for other purpoſes. The carriages wanted for the journeys of the prince were furniſhed by the people, and the nobles ſupplied their ſovereign with a reſidence and proviſions. It was cuſtomary to make him a preſent of greater or leſs value at his departure; and this teſtimony of regard was afterwards changed into an impoſt, under the title of *droit de gîte* *, when the heads of the ſtate were diſguſted of this wandering life. With theſe few reſources, and ſome other ſuccours, always of a

* Tax of reſidence.

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trifling nature, which were granted (though very ſeldom) in the martial aſſemblies of the nation, the ſovereign contrived ſtill to build magnificent churches, to found rich biſhoprics, to repel formidable enemies, and to make important conqueſts.

At the beginning of the eighth century, Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, thought theſe funds inſufficient for the defence of the kingdom, violently attacked by the Saracens, who were formidable from their numbers, their bravery, and their victories. It was the idea of this famous depoſitary of the royal authority, that a war againſt the infidels was to be maintained by holy property; and without any of thoſe precautions which it has ſince been neceſſary to have recourſe to, and which have even been frequently employed without effect, he ſeized upon the riches of the church, which were immenſe. If the clergy flattered themſelves that peace would reinſtate them in their poſſeſſions, they were diſappointed in their expectations. The ſovereigns remained maſters of the richeſt biſhoprics, the nobles of the beſt abbeys, and the gentlemen of the moſt conſiderable benefices. They became ſo many fiefs, the poſſeſſors, or rather perhaps the uſurpers of which, were conſtrained to a military ſervice proportioned to the value of their poſſeſſions. At firſt they were holden only for life; but they afterwards became hereditary, upon the decline of Charlemagne's family. They were then introduced in the courſe of circulation, as all other properties are. They were given away, ſold, or diſtributed.

diſtributed. A living was frequently the dowry of a young perſon who uſed to farm the tenths, and the caſual profits of it.

The firſt kings of the third race ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded that it was a duty of religion, as well as a point of juſtice, to reſtore to the ſanctuary what had been purloined from it. The ſacrifice was ſo much the greater, as theſe princes could not expect any aſſiſtance from a nation that was parcelled out, and which held no more aſſemblies; and as they had nothing remaining of their antient domain, except what was ſituated in the circuit of the confined territory that had been left immediately at their own diſpoſal, when the government became entirely feudal. The Jews were moſt commonly the perſons, who uſed to ſupply the deficiency which theſe revolutions had occaſioned in the royal coffers.

Thirty-ſeven years after the death of the Meſſiah, Titus attacked and took Jeruſalem. Thouſands of Jews periſhed in the ſiege; a great number were reduced to ſlavery, and the reſt of the nation was diſperſed. Some of them paſſed over into Gaul, where they experienced different treatment, according to times and circumſtances.

Sometimes the Jews purchaſed the right of forming a diſtinct and ſeparate people in the ſtate. They had then their own tribunals, a ſeal that was peculiar to them, burying places without the gates of the cities, ſynagogues in which they were allowed to pray only in a low voice, and a

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mark upon their clothes, which rendered it impoſſible not to know them.

If the intention ſometimes prevailed of forcing them to turn Chriſtians, they were more frequently prohibited from it. A Jew who changed his religion, was ſubject to a penalty, and his eſtates were confiſcated. He was thus deprived of every thing, becauſe there was no longer any pretence for loading him with taxes.

Most commonly, the nation was left a prey to the uſurious dealings of theſe iniquitous men: but on ſome occaſions it was forbidden to hold any intercourſe with them. It was prohibited by law to hire any Jews for ſervants, to hold any leaſe of them, to put any truſt in their phyſicians, to ſuckle, or even to rear their children.

They were often accuſed of having poiſoned the wells, of having maſſacred the children, and of having crucified a man on the memorable day of Good-Friday. It was by gold alone that they were able to clear themſelves of all theſe atrocious imputations, equally devoid of truth and probability.

The ſpirit of tyranny often loaded them with chains. Their perſons, their eſtates, and their goods, all belonged to the lord of the place where they dwelt. He might purſue them if they changed their reſidence, and the ſovereign himſelf had no right to detain them whenever they were claimed. Theſe kinds of ſlaves were conſidered as an article of trade; they were ſold, either ſeparately, or with the land, at a greater or

leſs

leſs price, according to their reſpective talents and induſtry.

In ſome inſtances they were compelled to purchaſe their freedom. Theſe low-minded men would have preferred a ſtate of ſlavery which did not prevent them from acquiring riches, to an independence by which they were to be deprived of them; but the liberty of choice was not allowed to them. They were forced to ſubmit, either to expire in torments; or to drag from the bowels of the earth the treaſures they had concealed there.

When theſe inſatiable leeches had devoured the ſubſtance of the whole ſtate, they were made to diſgorge their plunder, and then exiled. In order to get leave to renew their depredations, they ſacrificed part of the treaſure they had ſaved from the general wreck, and made uſe of the reſt in regaining ſtill more than had been taken from them.

Though the barons had more or leſs a ſhare in the vexations with which the Jews were oppreſſed, yet the ſovereigns, upon whom this perverſe race more particularly depended, always derived the principal advantages from them. It was by means of this fatal and odious reſource that they ſupported for ſome time a feeble and conteſted authority. In after-times, the debaſing of the coin furniſhed them with freſh aſſiſtance.

The antient governments were very far from making any advantage of their coin. The coinage was always carried on at the expence of the ſtate; and it is a matter of uncertainty which

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were the people who firſt laid a tax upon this univerſal object of exchange. If this fatal example was given by France, the kings of the firſt and ſecond race muſt have derived little advantage from this pernicious innovation; becauſe the payments were made, as among the Romans, with metals given by the weight; and becauſe the uſe of ſpecie was adopted only in the details of commerce. This cuſtom became afterwards conſiderably leſs prevalent; and the ſovereigns were ſtill more inclined to increaſe a tax, which was every day becoming more advantageous to them. In a little time they went much further, and did not ſcruple to commit the moſt flagrant act of diſhoneſty, in altering the value of the coin, at pleaſure, or according to their neceſſities. The ſpecie was continually undergoing a freſh melting, and was always mixed with very baſe alloy.

It was with theſe odious ſuccours; with the revenue of a territory extremely limited; with ſome fiefs, which either became vacant or were confiſcated; with ſome voluntary offerings, which were therefore ſtiled gifts of benevolence; with ſome taxes exacted from the barons, but which were rather tokens of ſubmiſſion than real impoſts; it was, in a word, by theſe means, that the crown was ſupported, and that it's power even continued increaſing, during all the time that it had no other enemies to contend with, except vaſſals more feeble than itſelf. Wars at that period laſted no longer than a few weeks; the armies were not numerous; the military ſervice

 was

was performed without reward; and the expences of the court were ſo inconſiderable, that 'till the fatal reign of Charles VI., they never exceeded 94,000 livres *.

But no ſooner had the epidemic rage of the cruſades draw'n the French far away from their frontiers; no ſooner had foreign enemies made powerful inroads into France, than it became neceſſary to eſtabliſh regular and conſiderable funds. The ſovereigns would have been very deſirous of taking upon themſelves the regulation of theſe contributions; and attempted it more than once. They were forewarned of theſe uſurpations by the remonſtrances of enlightened perſons, and compelled to give them up by the revolt of the people. They were obliged to acknowlege that this authority belonged to the nation aſſembled, and to that alone. They even made oath at their coronation, that this ſacred and unalienable right ſhould be for ever reſpected; and this oath was a reſtraint upon them for ſeveral centuries.

During all the time that the crown had no other revenue than the produce of it's domains, the collecting of the public treaſury had been allotted to the Seneſchals and Bailiffs, each in their reſpective departments; ſo that power, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the diſtribution of finance, were all united under one common head. When taxes were general throughout the kingdom, it became neceſſary to ſettle a new arrangement of matters. Whether theſe taxes bore upon

* 3,916l. 13s. 4d.

the

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the perſon, or upon the houſes of the citizens; whether individuals were required to give up the fifth or the tenth of their harveſts, and the fiftieth or the hundredth parts of their effects, moveable or immoveable; or whether other calculations, more or leſs fortunate, were made; ſtill there was a neceſſity to have a multiplicity of agents to collect theſe different tributes; and, unfortunately for the ſtate, theſe agents were ſought for in Italy, where the art of ſqueezing the people had already made an immenſe progreſs.

These financiers, who were know'n by the name of Lombards, gave early proofs of a genius fertile in fraudulent contrivances. Numberleſs and fruitleſs attempts were made, at different times, to put a ſtop to their inſatiable cupidity. No ſooner was one abuſe ſuppreſſed, than it was ſucceeded by another of a different kind. If theſe infamous plunderers were ſometimes proſecuted with rigour by the hand of authority, they found an effectual ſupport from ſome powerful perſons, whoſe protection and influence they had purchaſed. At length, however, their enormities were carried to ſuch a height, that no protection could ſave them. The advances which theſe pernicious ſtrangers had made to government and to individuals, were confiſcated; they were deprived of the immenſe treaſures they had heaped up, and were baniſhed from the kingdom, into which they ought never to have been admitted. After their expulſion, the general aſſembly of the ſtates, which regulated the ſubſidies, took upon themſelves to collect them; and this arrangement

continued

continued till the time of Charles VII., who first ventured to settle a tax without the consent of the nation, and who appropriated to himself the right of having all the imposts collected by his own delegates.

Under the reign of Lewis XII., the public revenue, which had gradually increased, amounted to seven millions six hundred and fifty thousand livres *. The marc of silver was then valued at eleven livres †, and the marc of gold at one hundred and thirty ‡. This sum answered to thirty-six millions § of our livres at this day.

At the death of Francis I. the treasury received fifteen millions seven hundred and thirty thousand livres ‖; the marc of silver being then valued at fifteen livres **, and the marc of gold at one hundred and sixty-five ††; this answered to fifty-six millions of our livres ‡‡. From this sum, sixty thousand four hundred and sixteen livres, three sols, four deniers §§, were to be deducted for the perpetual annuities created by that prince, and which, at eight and a half *per cent.* answered to a capital of seven hundred and twenty-five thousand livres ‖‖. This was an innovation; not but that some of his predecessors had been acquainted with the fatal resource of loans; but this had been always upon the security of their agents, and the state had never been concerned in them.

* 318,750l. † 9s. 2d. ‡ 5l. 8s. 4d.
§ 1,500,000l. ‖ 655,416l. 13s. 4d. ** 12s. 6d.
†† 6l. 17s. 6d. ‡‡ 2,333,333l. 6s. 8d.
§§ 2,517l. 6s. 8d. $\frac{1}{2}$. ‖‖ 30,208l. 6s. 8d.

A SERIES

BOOK IV.

A SERIES of civil wars, of acts of fanaticism, of depredations, of crimes and of anarchy, during a space of forty years, plunged the finances of the kingdom into a state of disorder, from which none but a Sully could have recovered them. This œconomical, enlightened, virtuous, indefatigable, and bold minister, reduced to the amount of seven millons * of annuities, lessened the taxes by three millions †, and left the state twenty-six millions ‡, with the burden only of six millions twenty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-six livres, two sols, six deniers §, in annuities; consequently, when all charges were deducted, twenty millions of livres ‖ entered the royal treasury; fifteen millions five hundred thousand ** were sufficient for the public expences, and the savings amounted to four millions five hundred thousand livres ††. The value of silver was then twenty-two livres ‡‡ the marc.

THE compelled retreat of this great man, after the tragical end of the best of kings, was a calamity which we still have cause to regret. The court immediately indulged itself in profusions which were unparalleled in the monarchy; and the ministers afterwards formed enterprizes, to which the powers of the nation were not adequate. The treasury was again exhausted by this double principle of unavoidable confusion. In 1661, the taxes amounted to eighty-four millions, two hun-

* 291,666l. 13s. 4d.
† 125,000l.
‡ 1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.
§ About 251,069l. 8s. 5d.
‖ 833,333l. 6s. 8d.
** 645,833l. 6s. 8d.
†† 187,500l.
‡‡ 18s. 4d.

dred

dred and twenty-two thouſand and ninety-ſix livres *: but the debts abſorbed fifty-two millions three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-two livres †. There remained therefore, for the public expences no more than thirty-one millions eight hundred and forty-four thouſand nine hundred and twenty-four livres ‡, a ſum evidently inſufficient for the exigencies of the ſtate. Such was the ſituation of the finances, when the adminiſtration of them was intruſted to Colbert.

This miniſter, whoſe name is become ſo celebrated among all nations, raiſed, in 1683, which was the laſt year of his life, the revenues of the monarch whom he ſerved to one hundred and ſixteen millions eight hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-ſix livres §. The ſum charged upon it did not exceed twenty-three millions three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-four livres ‖; ſo that the ſum of ninety-three millions four hundred and ninety-eight thouſand two hundred and two livres **, was conſequently poured into the king's coffers. The value of ſilver was then twenty-eight livres, ten ſols, ten deniers †† the marc. We have only to regret, that the fatal propenſity of Lewis XIV. for war, and his inordinate turn for every kind of expence that was attended with parade and magnificence, ſhould

* 3,509,254l.
† 2,182,382l. 3s. 4d.
‡ 1,326,871l. 16s. 8d.
§ 4,869,728l. 3s. 4d.
‖ 973,969l. 15s.
** 3,895,758l. 8s. 4d.
†† 1l. 3s. 9½d.

have

have deprived the kingdom of France of ſome of the advantages ſhe might have flattered herſelf with from ſo able an adminiſtrator.

After the death of Colbert, the affairs were plunged again into that chaos, from which his induſtry and talents had made them emerge. Though France appeared with ſome degree of outward ſplendour, yet her internal decay was daily increaſing. Her finances, adminiſtered without order or principle, fell a prey to a multitude of contractors; who made themſelves neceſſary even by their plunders, and went ſo far as to impoſe terms to government. Confuſion, uſury, continual alterations of the coin, reductions of intereſt, alienations of the domain and of the taxes, engagements which it was impoſſible to fulfil, creations of penſions and places, privileges and exemptions of all kinds: theſe, and a variety of other evils, each more ruinous than the other, were the deplorable and unavoidable conſequence of an almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of vicious adminiſtrations.

The loſs of credit ſoon became univerſal. Bankruptcies were more frequent. Money grew ſcarce, and trade was at a ſtand. The conſumption was leſs. The culture of lands was neglected. Artiſts went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor clothing. The nobility ſerved in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the weight of taxes, and were in want of the neceſſaries of life. The royal effects had loſt their value. The contracts upon the *hotel de*

de ville ſold but for half their worth, and bills of an inferior kind loſt infinitely more. Lewis XIV. a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions*; and was forced to give bonds for thirty-two millions†, which was borrowing at four hundred per cent.

No clamours were raiſed againſt ſo enormous an uſury. The revenue of the ſtate, amounted, it is true, to one hundred and fifteen millions three hundred eighty-nine thouſand and ſeventy-four livres‡; but the ſums charged upon it took away eighty-two millions eight hundred and fifty-nine thouſand five hundred and four livres§; ſo that there remained, for the expences of government, no more than thirty-two millions five hundred and twenty-nine thouſand five hundred and ſeventy livres‖; at thirty livres, ten ſols, ſix deniers¶ the marc. All theſe funds were moreover anticipated for upwards of three years.

Such was the confuſion in the ſtate of public affairs, when, on the firſt of September 1715, the Duke of Orleans aſſumed the reins of government. The true friends of this great prince, were deſirous that he ſhould call together a general aſſembly of the ſtates. This would have been an infallible method of preſerving, and even of increaſing, the public favour, already openly declared for him. Whatever meaſures might have been adopted by the nation, to free itſelf from that critical ſituation, into which it had been pre-

* 333,333l. 6s. 8d.
† 1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 4,807,878l. 1s. 8d.
§ 3,452,479l. 6s. 8d.
‖ 1,355,398l. 15s.
¶ About 1l. 5s. 5d.

cipitated

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cipitated by the diſſipations of the preceding reign, no blame could have been imputed to him. The Duke of Orleans was ready to concur in this expedient. Unfortunately, the perfidious confidants, who had uſurped too much power over his mind, reprobated a ſcheme in which their private intereſt could not find it's advantage; and it was given up.

At that time, ſome great men, diſguſted of the deſpotiſm under which France was oppreſſed, and ſeeing no probability of ſhaking off the yoke, entertained an idea of a complete bankruptcy, which they thought a proper method of moderating the exceſs of abſolute power. The manner in which they conceived that it ſhould be brought about, was ſingular.

According to their ſyſtem, the crown is neither hereditary nor elective. It is nothing more than a truſt granted by the whole nation to one particular houſe, that it may paſs from one elder male to the next, as long as the family ſhall exiſt. Upon this principle, a king of France holds nothing from the perſon whom he ſucceeds. He comes to the throne in his turn, in virtue of the right which his birth gives him, and not as the repreſentative of his father. He cannot therefore be bound by the engagements of his predeceſſors. The primordial law which gives him the ſceptre, requires that the ſubſtitution ſhould be ſimple, complete, and free from any obligation.

These bold men were deſirous that theſe maxims, which appeared to them incontrovertible, as well as the deciſive conſequences they drew

drew from them, ſhould be conſecrated in the eyes of all Europe by a moſt ſolemn edict. They thought, that when theſe truths were made know'n, they would prevent foreigners and natives from lending their capitals to a government which could give no ſolid ſecurity for the debt. Conſequently, the court would from that time be reduced to live upon it's own income. However conſiderable this income might be, the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch an event would be, that ſome limit would be ſet to the caprices of the ſovereigns; that the expenſive enterprizes of miniſters would become of leſs continuance and frequency; and that the inſatiable cupidity of favourites and miſtreſſes muſt in ſome meaſure be reſtrained.

Some politicians, without adopting a ſyſtem, which appeared to them calculated to lead their princes to tyranny, were of opinion, that the crown ſhould be releaſed of it's debts, in whatever mode they might have been contracted. They could not bear the diſtreſſing ſight of an amiable people, exaſperated by extortions of all kinds, which they had been expoſed to during a courſe of forty years; a people who were ſinking under the enormous weight of their preſent miſery; and who were in the utmoſt deſpair at foreſeeing that time, that great reſource of the wretched, would bring no relief to their diſtreſſes, but would probably aggravate them. The creditors of the ſtate, who did not conſtitute a thouſandth part of the citizens, who were moſt of them know'n only by their depredations, and the

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moſt upright of whom acquired from the public treaſury the affluence they enjoyed, appeared objects leſs intereſting to theſe politicians. In the grievous neceſſity of ſacrificing one part of the nation to the other, it was their opinion that the lenders ſhould be the victims.

THE regent, after ſome deliberations, refuſed to adopt ſo violent a meaſure, which he thought would inevitably fix an indelible ſtain upon his adminiſtration. He choſe rather to inſtitute a ſtrict inquiry into the public engagements, than to ſubmit to a diſgraceful bankruptcy, the publicity of which he thought might be avoided.

AN office for the reviſion of accounts, eſtabliſhed on the 7th of December 1715, reduced ſix hundred millions * of ſtock payable to bearer, to two hundred and fifty millions † in government bonds; and yet the national debt, after this operation, amounted ſtill to two thouſand and ſixty-two millions one hundred and thirty-eight thouſand and one livres ‡.

THIS enormous debt ſuggeſted the idea of appointing, in the month of March 1716, a bed of juſtice, to call thoſe to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, or who had profited by them. This inquiry ſerved only to expoſe to public view the incapacity of the miniſters who had been intruſted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had ſwallowed them up, and the baſeneſs of the courtiers, who had ſold their intereſt

* 25,000,000l. † 10,416,666l. 13s. 4d.
‡ 85,822,416l. 14s. 2d.

to

to the firſt bidder. By this experiment, honeſt minds were confirmed in the abhorrence they always had entertained for ſuch a tribunal. It degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to fulfil his engagements, and expoſes to the people the vices of a corrupt adminiſtration. It is injurious to the rights of the citizen, who is accountable for his actions to none but the law. It ſtrikes terror into the rich, who are marked out as delinquents, merely becauſe they are rich, be their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encouragement to informers, who point out as fit objects for tyranny ſuch as it may be advantageous to ruin. It is compoſed of unmerciful leeches, who ſee guilt wherever they ſuſpect there is wealth. It ſpares plunderers, who know how to ſcreen themſelves by a ſeaſonable ſacrifice of part of their riches, and ſpoils honeſt men who think themſelves ſecure in their innocence. It ſacrifices the intereſts of the treaſury to the caprices of a few greedy, profligate, and extravagant favourites.

All the ſprings of the ſtate were deſtroyed, before this reſource, which bore evident marks of the paſſions and prejudice, had been experienced. The ſituation of the body politic became ſtill more deſperate, after this convulſive effort. The members of the ſtate loſt the little they had left of energy and life; ſo that it became neceſſary to re-animate the corpſe. This reſurrection was not an impoſſible thing, becauſe there was a general diſpoſition prevailing to make uſe of any remedies that were propoſed; the difficulty was to propoſe

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none but ſuch as would be effectual: the celebrated Law made the attempt.

Methods contrived by Law, to recover the finances of France from the ſtate of confuſion into which they were fallen. Part taken by the Company in the execution of his projects.

THIS Scotchman was one of thoſe projectors, or ſtate empirics, who are conſtantly roaming about the courts of Europe, diſplaying their talents, and hurried on by a reſtleſs diſpoſition. He was a deep calculator; and at the ſame time, which appears rather inconſiſtent, endowed with a moſt lively and ardent imagination. His turn of mind and character proved agreeable to the regent, over whoſe underſtanding he ſoon gained an influence. Law engaged himſelf that he would re-eſtabliſh the finances of the kingdom, and eaſily prevailed upon that prince, who was a man of diſſipation and genius, to countenance a plan which promiſed him wealth and reputation. We ſhall now give an account of the ſeries and reſult of his operations.

Firſt, he was allowed, in the month of May 1716, to eſtabliſh a bank at Paris, the capital of which was to conſiſt of ſix millions of livres *, to be formed by twelve hundred ſhares, of three thouſand livres † each.

THIS bank was not permitted to make any loan. It was prohibited from entering into any kind of trade, and it's engagements were to be at ſight. Every native, and every foreigner, might place their money in it; and it engaged to make all the payments, for the deduction of five ſols ‡ upon every three thouſand livres §. The

* 250,000l. † 125l. ‡ $2\frac{1}{2}$d. § 125l.

bills,

bills, which it gave out at a very moderate diſcount, were paid in all the provinces by the directors of the mint, who were it's agents, and who, on their part, drew upon it's treaſury. It's paper was equally received in all the principal places in Europe, at the ordinary courſe of exchange, at the time it became due.

The ſucceſs of this new eſtabliſhment confounded the opponents of it's founder, and, perhaps, went beyond his own expectations. It's influence was felt even from the firſt. A rapid circulation of money, which had ſo long remained inactive, from the general miſtruſt that prevailed, ſoon brought every thing into motion again. Agriculture, manufactures, and the arts were revived. All articles of conſumption reſumed their former courſe. The merchants, finding their bills of exchange diſcounted at five *per cent.* and getting ſecurities for them which were as good as ſpecie, renewed their ſpeculations. Uſury was put a ſtop to, becauſe perſons of property found themſelves compelled to lend their money at the ſame intereſt as the bank did. When foreigners were able to rely upon the nature of the payments they might have to make, they made freſh demands for productions, from the purchaſing of which they did not abſtain without regret. To the great aſtoniſhment of all nations, the exchange roſe to the advantage of France.

This was a conſiderable ſtep; but it was not doing all that was poſſible or neceſſary. In the month of March 1717 it was decreed, that the bills of the bank ſhould be received at all the offices in payment of the taxes, and that they

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ſhould be paid at ſight, and without diſcount, by thoſe who were intruſted with the management of the public money. By this important regulation, the produce of the taxes was detained in the provinces, the expence attending the carriage of money was ſaved both to the ſovereign and to the public, and the numerous as well as uſeleſs circulations it underwent, through the hands of a multiplicity of agents, were avoided. This operation, which carried the credit of the bank to the higheſt pitch, was equally uſeful to the government. The impoſts were now collected, not only without thoſe acts of violence, which for ſo long a time paſt had raiſed clamours againſt the adminiſtration, and urged the people to acts of deſperation; but alſo the public revenues were continually and rapidly increaſed, in a manner which could not fail to bring about a fortunate change in the ſituation of government.

The unexpected appearance of ſo many advantages, made Law be conſidered as a man of judgment, of extenſive and elevated genius, who deſpiſed riches, and was ambitious of fame, and who wiſhed to tranſmit his name to poſterity by great acts. The gratitude of the people roſe ſo high, that he was thought worthy of the moſt honourable and public monuments. This bold and enterprizing foreigner availed himſelf of a diſpoſition ſo favourable to him, in haſtening the execution of a project, which had for a long time engaged his attention.

In the month of Auguſt 1717, he obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh the Weſtern Company, the rights

rights of which were at firſt confined to the excluſive trade of Louiſiana, and of the beavers of Canada. The privileges formerly granted for the trade to Africa, to the Eaſt-Indies, and to China, were ſoon incorporated with thoſe of the new eſtabliſhment. Theſe companies, thus united, projected the paying off of the national debt. In order to put them in a condition to accompliſh ſo great a deſign, government granted them the ſale of tobacco, the coinage, the exciſe duties, and the farms general.

In order to haſten the revolution, Law obtained on the 4th of December 1718, that the bank which he had eſtabliſhed two years before, and which, while it's intereſts were diſtinct from thoſe of the ſtate, had been of ſo great utility, ſhould be erected into a royal bank. It's bills paſſed as current coin between individuals, and they were taken in payment at all the royal treaſuries.

The firſt operations of the new ſyſtem gave univerſal ſatisfaction. The ſhares of the Company, moſt of them bought with government bills, and which, upon an average, did not really coſt five hundred livres *, roſe to the value of ten thouſand livres †, payable in bank bills. Such was the general infatuation, that not only natives, but foreigners, and men of the beſt underſtanding, ſold their ſtock, their lands and their jewels, in order to play at this extraordinary game. Gold and ſilver were in no kind of eſtimation; nothing but paper currency was ſought after.

* 20l. 16s. 8d. † 416l. 13s. 4d.

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It was not, perhaps, impoſſible, but that this enthuſiaſm might have been kept up for a ſufficient length of time, to have been productive of ſome advantage, if Law's views had been implicitly followed. This calculator, notwithſtanding the boldneſs of his principles, was deſirous of limiting the number of ſhares, although he never could have been compelled to reimburſe them. But he was more particularly determined not to diſtribute bank bills to the amount of more than ten or twelve hundred millions of livres *. This was ſuppoſed to be the value of the ſpecie circulating in the kingdom; and he flattered himſelf, that by theſe operations, he ſhould collect in the king's coffers a ſufficient quantity of it, to enable him to pay off any perſons who might be deſirous of changing their paper currency into money. A plan which in itſelf was ſo little likely to ſucceed, was ſtill further diſconcerted by the conduct of the regent.

This prince had received from nature a quick and penetrating ſpirit, an uncommon ſhare of memory, and a ſound underſtanding. He acquired by ſtudy a manly degree of eloquence, an exquiſite diſcernment, a taſte for the fine arts, and a proficiency in them. In war, he diſplayed much valour; and in the management of civil affairs, great dexterity and frankneſs. His character, and the circumſtances of the times, contributed to place him in ſome delicate ſituations, by which he gained a complete knowlege of

* From 41,666,666l. 13s. 4d. to 50,000,000l.

mankind,

mankind, and an early experience. The kind of diſgrace in which he had lived for a long time, had given him ſocial manners, ſo that he was eaſy of acceſs; and in any intercourſe with him, no man had reaſon to fear the being treated with ill-humour, or with haughtineſs. His converſation was inſinuating, and his manners perfectly graceful. He was of a benevolent diſpoſition, or at leaſt aſſumed the appearance of it.

These amiable and eſtimable qualities did not produce the great effects that were expected from them. The want of firmneſs in Philip rendered all theſe advantages uſeleſs to the nation. He had never ſtrength of mind ſufficient to refuſe any thing to his friends, to his enemies, to his miſtreſſes, and eſpecially to his favourite Dubois, the moſt corrupt and profligate of men. This inability of refuſing manifeſted itſelf particularly at the time of the ſyſtem. In order to glut the cupidity of all thoſe who had the impudence to ſay, or to think that they were uſeful, he created ſix hundred and twenty-four thouſand ſhares, the value of which roſe to above ſix thouſand millions of livres *, and gave out bank bills to the amount of 2,696,400,000 livres †.

A disproportion ſo enormous, between the paper currency and the coin, might poſſibly have been ſupported in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens, accuſtomed to conſider the nation as a permanent and independent body, truſt to it's ſecurity the more

* 250,000,000 l. † 112,350,000 l.

readily,

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readily, as they are ſeldom thoroughly acquainted with it's powers, and have a good opinion of it's equity, founded on experience. Upon the ſtrength of this favourable prejudice, credit is often ſtretched in thoſe ſtates beyond the real reſources and ſecurities of the nation. This is not the caſe in abſolute monarchies, eſpecially ſuch as have often broken their engagements. If in times of public infatuation an implicit confidence be ſhew'n, it is but for a little while. Their inſolvency becomes evident. The honeſty of the monarch, the mortgage, the ſtock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, demands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneaſineſs. The hiſtory of the ſyſtem corroborates this truth.

The deſire of putting off thoſe, who firſt recovered from the general phrenzy, were wiſhing to convert their paper into money, made it neceſſary to have recourſe to expedients, ſuch as could only have been ſuggeſted by the moſt inveterate oppoſer of the ſyſtem. Gold was prohibited in trade. All the citizens were forbidden to keep by them more than five hundred livres * in ſpecie. Several ſucceſſive diminutions in the value of the coin were declared by edict. Theſe tyrannical proceedings not only put a ſtop to the demands, but likewiſe reduced ſome timid perſons to the cruel neceſſity of throwing more ſtock into the bank. But this temporary ſucceſs did not even conceal the precipice that had been ſo imprudently opened.

* 20l. 16s. 8d.

In

In order to prop up an edifice which was tumbling to pieces on all ſides, it was decreed, that the ſtandard for the coin ſhould be raiſed to eighty-two livres ten ſols * the mark; that the bank bills ſhould be reduced to half of their value, and the ſhares to five ninths. This mode of reducing the diſproportion between the paper currency and the coin, was, perhaps, the leaſt unreaſonable that could have been adopted in the deſperate ſituation of affairs at that time; it completed, however, the general confuſion. The conſternation became univerſal; every man thought he had loſt the half of his fortune, and haſtened to call in the remainder. The coffers were empty, and the ſtock-holders found they had been deluded by mere chimeras. Then it was that Law diſappeared, and with him the expectation, abſurdly entertained, of obtaining the reſtoration of the public finances, through his means. Every thing fell into confuſion.

It did not ſeem poſſible to clear up this chaos. In order to attempt it, on the 26th of January 1721, an office was created, into which the life annuities, and perpetual annuities, the ſhares, the bank bills; in a word, all papers bearing the mark of the royal authority, of whatever kind, were to be depoſited in the courſe of two months, and their validity was afterwards to be diſcuſſed.

It was found by this examination, ſo celebrated under the title of *Viſa*, that bank bills had been

* 3l. 8s. 9d.

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circulated to the amount of 2,696,400,000 livres *. The value of 707,327,460 livres † of theſe was burnt, and not reckoned in the liquidation. The ſtock-holders were condemned to a reſtitution of 187,893,661 livres ‡, and other modes were contrived to diminiſh the national debt. The political machine began now to reſume it's motions, but they were neither eaſy, nor even regular.

In whatever manner the finances of the kingdom were afterwards adminiſtered, they were never adequate to the expences. This is a diſtreſſing fact, the demonſtration of which we have before our eyes. In vain were taxes multiplied; wants, fancies, and depredations, were ſtill increaſed beyond them; and the treaſury became more and more in debt. At the death of Lewis XV. the public revenues roſe to 375,331,874 livres §, But the engagements, notwithſtanding the multitude of bankruptcies that had been made, amounted to 190,858,531 livres ‖. There remained, therefore, no more than 184,473,343 livres **; the expences of the ſtate required 210,000,000 livres ††; conſequently there was a deficiency of 25,526,657 livres ‡‡ in the treaſury.

The public ſuppoſe, that a better uſe will be made of the revenue under the preſent reign. Their expectations are founded upon the love of

* 112,350,000l.
† 29,471,977l. 10s.
‡ 7,808,912l. 10s. 1cd.
§ 15,638,828l. 1s. 8d.
‖ 7,952,438l. 15s. 10d.
** 7,686,389l. 5s. 10d.
†† 8,750,000l.
‡‡ 1,063,610l. 13s. 4d.

order,

order, the contempt of pomp, the ſpirit of juſtice, and thoſe other plain and modeſt virtues, which ſeemed to crowd about the throne when Lewis XVI. aſcended it.

YOUNG Prince! thou who haſt been able to preſerve an abhorrrence of vice and diſſipation in the midſt of the moſt diſſolute of courts, and under the weakeſt of preceptors, condeſcend to hear me with indulgence, becauſe I am an honeſt man, and one of thy beſt ſubjects; becauſe I have no pretenſions to thy favour, and that every morning and evening I lift up my hands to heaven, praying for the good of mankind, and for the proſperity and glory of thy reign. The boldneſs with which I ſhall venture to tell thee truths that thy predeceſſor never hear'd from the mouths of his flatterers, and which thou wilt not be more likely to hear from thoſe who approach thee, is the beſt eulogium I can make of thy character.

THOU reigneſt over the fineſt empire in the univerſe. Notwithſtanding the decline into which it is fallen, there is no place upon the earth where the arts and ſciences ſuſtain themſelves with ſo much luſtre. The neighbouring nations are in want of thy aſſiſtance, while thou can'ſt maintain thyſelf without their's. If thy provinces were to enjoy all the fertility of which they are ſuſceptible; if thy troops, without being much more numerous were as well diſciplined as they could be; if thy revenues, without being increaſed, were more faithfully adminiſtered; if a ſpirit of œconomy directed the expences of thy miniſters, and of thy palace; if thy debts were paid off:

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what power on earth would be ſo formidable as thine?

SAY, where is the monarch who rules over ſubjects ſo patient, ſo faithful, and ſo affectionate? Is there a people more frank, more active, or more induſtrious? Has not all Europe derived from them that ſocial ſpirit which ſo happily diſtinguiſhes the preſent period from all preceding ages? Have not ſtateſmen of all countries pronounced thy empire to be inexhauſtible? Thou thyſelf wilt even be ſenſible of the whole extent of theſe reſources, if thou ſay'ſt to thyſelf without delay: "I am young, but my only wiſh is to "do good. Firmneſs gets the better of all ob- "ſtacles. Let me only be preſented with a true "picture of my ſituation: whatever it may be, "I ſhall not be alarmed." Prince, thou haſt commanded, and I haſten to obey. If while I am ſpeaking, one tear does but ſteal from thine eyes, our preſervation is at hand.

WHEN an unexpected event placed the ſcepter in thine unexperienced hands, the French navy for one moment, one ſingle awful moment, had ceaſed to exiſt. Weakneſs, diſorder, and corruption, had re-plunged it into that ſtate of annihilation, from which it had emerged at the moſt brilliant æra of the monarchy. It had neither been able to defend our diſtant poſſeſſions, nor to preſerve our coaſts from invaſion and plunder. In all the regions of the globe, our ſeamen, and our merchants were expoſed to ruinous oppreſſions, and to mortifications infinitely more intolerable.

THE

THE forces and treaſure of the nation, had been laviſhed for intereſts, foreign, and perhaps repugnant to our own. But what is gold, or what is blood, in compariſon of honour? Our arms, formerly ſo much dreaded, inſpired no more any kind of terror. We were ſcarce allowed to have courage.

OUR ambaſſadors, who for ſo long a time had appeared in foreign courts leſs to negotiate, than to manifeſt the intentions, I had almoſt ſaid the will, of their maſters; our ambaſſadors were now deſpiſed. The moſt important tranſactions were concluded without any communication with them. Powers in alliance with us, divided empires amongſt themſelves without our knowlege. Was it poſſible to declare in a more inſulting, and leſs equivocal manner, the little weight we were conſidered to have in the general balance of the political affairs of Europe? What was become of the dignity and reſpect of the French name?

SUCH is, young ſovereign, thy ſituation without the limits of thine empire. Thou do'ſt caſt down thine eyes, and dareſt not to look at it. The internal view of thy kingdom will not afford thee a more comfortable proſpect.

IN proof of this, I call to witneſs that ſucceſſion of bankruptcies which have happened from year to year, from month to month, under the reign of thy predeceſſor. Thus it is, that the utmoſt degree of indigence hath inſenſibly been brought on a multitude of ſubjects, who had incurred no other reproach, than that of having indiſcreetly

truſted

truſted their fortune to their ſovereigns, and of having over-rated the eſtimation of their ſacred promiſe. We ſhould be aſhamed of a breach of faith, even with an enemy; and kings, the fathers of their country, are not aſhamed to break their words in this cruel and baſe manner with their children! Abominable proſtitution of their oaths! It might ſtill be ſome kind of conſolation to theſe unfortunate perſons, if they had fallen victims to the neceſſity of circumſtances, or to the urgency of the public wants, which are ever renewed: but theſe acts of perfidy have been executed after years of a long peace, without there appearing any other motive for them, than the abandoning of the plunder of the public finances to a multitude of perſons as vile as they were rapacious. Behold the chain of them, deſcending from the upper ſteps of the throne, and extending from thence to the loweſt ranks of ſociety. Behold what is the conſequence, when the monarch ſeparates his intereſts from thoſe of his people.

CAST thine eyes upon the capital of thine empire, and thou wilt find in it two orders of citizens. The firſt, gorged with riches, diſplay a luxury which raiſes the indignation of thoſe whom it does not ſeduce; the others, are oppreſſed with indigence, which they increaſe by aſſuming the appearance of affluence that does not belong to them: for ſuch is the power of gold, when it is become the idol of a nation, that it is a ſubſtitute for every talent, and for every virtue; inſomuch that a man muſt either have riches, or

make

make it be thought that he has. Among this heap of diſſolute men, thou wilt ſee ſome laborious, honeſt, œconomical, and induſtrious citizens, half proſcribed by the erroneous laws, which the ſpirit of intoleration hath dictated, deprived of all public functions, and always ready to quit their country becauſe they are not allowed to take root by the acquiſition of property in a ſtate where they exiſt, without civil honour, and without ſecurity.

TURN thy view towards the provinces where every ſpecies of induſtry is upon the decline. Thou wilt ſee them ſinking under the load of taxes, and under the oppreſſions, as diverſified as they are cruel, of the numberleſs ſatellites attending on the contractors.

AFTER this, take a review of the country, and behold if thou can'ſt, with an unweeping eye, the man who enriches us condemned to periſh with miſery; the unfortunate farmer, who ſcarce retains from the lands that he has cultivated a ſufficient quantity of ſtraw to cover his hut, and make himſelf a bed. Behold the protected extortioner, roaming about his poor habitation, in hopes of finding, in the appearance of ſome little improvement in his wretched ſituation, the pretence of redoubling his extortions. Behold multitudes of men, who have no poſſeſſions, quitting, from the earlieſt dawn, their dwelling, with their wives, their children, and their cattle, in order to proceed without wages, and without food, to the making of roads, the advantage of which is entirely for thoſe who engroſs all poſſeſſions.

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I PERCEIVE that thy feeling heart is overwhelmed with grief; and thou doeſt aſk with a ſigh, what is the remedy to ſuch a variety of evils? Thou ſhalt be told it; thou ſhalt tell it to thyſelf. But thou muſt firſt be informed that the monarch, who hath none but pacific virtues, may ſecure the affection of his ſubjects; and that there is nothing, except fortitude, which can make him reſpected by his neighbours; thou muſt be informed, that kings have no relations, and that family compacts laſt no longer than the contracting parties find their intereſt in them; that there is ſtill leſs confidence to be repoſed in thy alliance with an artful houſe, which requires a ſtrict obſervation of the treaties made with it, without ever being at a loſs for a pretence to elude the conditions of them, when they ſtand in the way of it's own aggrandizement; thou muſt be informed, that a king, the only man who knows not whether he has a true friend near him, cannot poſſibly have one out of his dominions, and muſt therefore rely only upon himſelf; that an empire can no more ſubſiſt without morals, and without virtue, than a private family; that it haſtens on in the ſame manner to it's ruin by diſſipation, and is equally unable of recovering itſelf without œconomy; thou muſt be informed, that pomp adds nothing to the majeſty of the throne; that one of thy anceſtors never appeared more great than when attended by a few guards, which he had even no occaſion for, more plainly clothed than any one of his ſubjects, and with his back reſting againſt an oak, he hear'd all complaints that were addreſſ-

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ed to him, and determined every diſpute; thou muſt be informed, in a word, that thy kingdom will recover from the abyſs digged by thy predeceſſors, if thou wilt take upon thyſelf to regulate thy conduct, upon the model of that of a rich individual, loaded with debt, and yet honeſt enough to be deſirous of anſwering the inconſiderate engagements of his anceſtors, and juſt enough to reject, with indignation, every tyrannical proceeding that might be ſuggeſted to him.

Ask thyſelf in the courſe of the day, during the night, in the midſt of the tumult of thy court, in the retirement of thy cloſet, when thou doſt reflect; and in what moment oughteſt thou not to reflect upon the happineſs of twenty-two millions of people whom thou cheriſheſt, who have an affection for thee, and who anticipate by their wiſhes the time when they may adore thee: aſk thyſelf, I ſay, whether thy intention be to perpetuate the abſurd profuſion of thy palace.

Whether thou wilt keep that multitude of high and ſubaltern officers who devour thee.

Whether thou wilt continue the expenſive maintenance of that number of uſeleſs caſtles, with the enormous ſalaries granted to thoſe who govern them.

Whether thou wilt ſtill double and treble the expences of thy houſehold, by journeys as coſtly as they are uſeleſs.

Whether thou wilt diſſipate in ſcandalous feſtivals the ſubſiſtence of thy people.

Whether thou wilt allow that tables of a ruinous game, the ſource of debaſement and cor-

ruption, ſhould be fixed under thy own inſpection.

WHETHER thou wilt ſuffer thy treaſury to be exhauſted, in order to keep up the pomp of thy relations, and to maintain them in a ſtate, the magnificence of which ſhall be emulous of thine own.

WHETHER thou wilt ſuffer, that the example of a treacherous luxury ſhould diſorder the ſenſes of our women, and drive their huſbands to deſpair.

WHETHER thou wilt ſacrifice every day for the feed of thy horſes, a quantity of ſubſiſtence ſufficient to nouriſh ſeveral thouſands of thy ſubjects, who are periſhing with hunger and miſery.

WHETHER thou wilt ſtill grant to certain members of the ſtate, already too amply gratified, and to ſome military men, already enjoying a conſiderable ſtipend during a long ſeries of years paſſed in idleneſs, ſums of an extraordinary magnitude, for operations which it is their duty to perform, and which in every other government, except thine, they would be obliged to execute at their own expence.

WHETHER thou wilt perſiſt in the fruitleſs poſſeſſion of immenſe domains which yield thee nothing, and the alienation of which, while it might ſerve to diſcharge part of thy debt, would increaſe both thine own income and the riches of the nation. The man to whom every thing belongs as ſovereign, ought not to poſſeſs any thing as a private man.

WHETHER

WHETHER thou wilt give way to the inſatiable avidity of thy courtiers, and of the courtiers of thy relations.

WHETHER thou wilt permit that the nobles, the magiſtrates, and all powerful and protected perſons in thy kingdom, ſhould continue to caſt off from their own ſhoulders the burden of the taxes, in order to make it fall with greater weight upon the people. A ſpecies of extortion againſt which the groans of the oppreſſed, and the remonſtrances of enlightened men, have ſo long and ſo unavailingly been uttered.

WHETHER thou wilt confirm to a body of men, who are in poſſeſſion of a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom, the abſurd privilege of taxing themſelves at diſcretion, and under the title of gratuitous offerings, which they are not aſhamed to give to their ſubſidies, to ſignify to thee that they owe thee nothing; that they are not the leſs entitled to thy protection, and to all the advantages of ſociety, without taking upon themſelves any of the duties of it, and that thou haſt no right to any return of gratitude from them.

WHEN to theſe ſeveral queſtions thou haſt of thyſelf given thoſe juſt and ſincere anſwers which thy feeling and royal heart ſhall dictate, let thy actions correſpond with them. Be firm. Suffer not thyſelf to be ſhaken by any of thoſe repreſentations which duplicity or perſonal intereſt may ſuggeſt to reſtrain thee, perhaps even to inſpire thee with terror; and be aſſured that thou wilt ſoon be the moſt revered, and the moſt formidable potentate of the earth.

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YES, Lewis XVI., ſuch is the fortune that awaits thee; and it is in the confidence that thou wilt attain to it, that I ſtill remain attached to life. I have but one word more to ſay to thee, but that is of importance. It is, that thou ſhould'ſt conſider as the moſt dangerous of impoſtors, as the moſt inveterate enemy of our happineſs and of thy glory, the impudent flatterer, who ſhall not heſitate to lull thee into a ſtate of fatal tranquillity; either by repreſenting to thee in a fainter light, the diſtreſsful picture of thy ſituation; or by exaggerating the impropriety, the danger, and the difficulty, of employing the reſources that may occur to thy mind.

THOU wilt hear it whiſpered around thee: *Theſe things cannot be done; and even if they could, they are innovations.* Innovations let them be. But all the diſcoveries that have been made in the arts and ſciences, have they not been equally ſo? Is then the art of good government the only one that cannot be improved? Or are we to reckon as innovations, the general aſſembly of a great nation; the reſtoration of primitive liberty, and the reſpectable exertion of the firſt acts of natural juſtice?

Situation of the India Company at the fall of the ſyſtem.

AT the fall of the ſyſtem, the government gave up to the India Company the monopoly of tobacco, in diſcharge of the ninety millions of livres * they had lent. It alſo granted them the excluſive privilege of all the lotteries in the kingdom, and allowed them to convert into life annuities and tontines part of their ſhares. There remained only to the number of fifty-ſix thouſand of

* 3,700,000*l.*

of theſe, which, by ſubſequent events, were reduced to fifty thouſand two hundred ſixty-eight and four-tenths. Unfortunately, this ſociety preſerved the privileges of the ſeveral companies out of which it had been formed; and this prerogative added neither to it's wiſdom or power; it confined the negro trade, and ſtopped the progreſs of the ſugar colonies. Moſt of it's privileges ſerved only to authoriſe odious monopolies. The moſt fertile regions upon earth, when occupied by the Company, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The ſpirit of finance, which reſtrains purſuits as much as the commercial ſpirit enlarges them, became, and has ever ſince continued, the ſpirit of the Company. The directors thought only of turning to their own advantage the rights ceded to the Company in Aſia, Africa, and America. It became a ſociety of contractors, rather than of merchants. Nothing could poſſibly be ſaid in praiſe of their adminiſtration, had they not been ſo honeſt as to pay off the debts accumulated in India for a century paſt; and taken care to ſecure Pondicherry againſt any invaſion, by ſurrounding it with walls. Their trade was but trifling and precarious, till Orry was appointed to ſuperintend the finances of the nation.

Great ſucceſs of the Company; with an account of thoſe of it's agents to whom it was owen.

THAT upright and diſintereſted miniſter ſullied his virtues by a harſhneſs of temper, which he apologized for in a manner not much to the credit of the nation. One day when a friend was reproaching him with the roughneſs of his manners, he anſwered, *How can I behave otherwiſe? Out of a hundred people I ſee in a day, fifty take me for a*

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fool, and fifty for a knave. He had a brother named Fulvy, who was leſs rigid in his principles, but had more affability, and a greater ſhare of capacity. He intruſted him with the concerns of the Company, which could not but flouriſh under ſuch a direction.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former prejudices and thoſe which ſtill prevailed; notwithſtanding the abhorrence the public had for any remains of Law's ſyſtem; notwithſtanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the dividend upon the ſhares came under the denomination of uſury; notwithſtanding the blindneſs of a nation, credulous enough not to be ſhocked at ſo abſurd a deciſion; yet ſtill the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury, that it was proper to ſupport the India Company in an effectual manner. They even prevailed upon that miniſter, more ſkilful in the art of managing riches, than in that of increaſing them, to laviſh the king's favours upon this eſtabliſhment. The care of ſuperintending it's trade, and of enlarging it's powers, was afterwards committed to ſeveral perſons of know'n abilities.

DUMAS was ſent to Pondicherry. He ſoon obtained leave of the court of Delhi to coin money; which privilege was worth four or five hundred thouſand livres * a year. He obtained a ceſſion of the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a conſiderable ſhare in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thouſand Marattas invaded

* From 16,666l. 13s. 4d. to 20,833l. 6s. 8d.

the Decan. They attacked the Nabob of Arcot, who was vanquiſhed and ſlain. His family, and ſeveral of his ſubjects, took refuge in Pondicherry. They were received with all the kindneſs due to allies in diſtreſs. Ragogi Bouſſola, the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they ſhould be delivered up to him; and further required the payment of 1,200,000 livres * in virtue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly ſubmitted to.

Dumas made anſwer, That ſo long as the Moguls had been maſters of that country, they had always treated the French with the reſpect due to one of the moſt illuſtrious nations in the world, which, in her turn, took a pride in protecting her benefactors; that it was contrary to the character of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceleſs men, to ſee them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection of his king, who eſteemed it his higheſt honour to be the protector of the diſtreſſed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would cheerfully die in their defence; and that his own life was forfeited, if his ſovereign were to know that he had ſo much as liſtened to the mention of a tribute. He added, that he was ready to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and if he ſhould be overpowered, he would get on board his ſhips, and return to Europe: that Ragogi might conſider whether he choſe to expoſe his army to utter de-

* 50,000l.

ſtruction,

ſtruction, when the greateſt advantage that could be obtained by it was to take poſſeſſion of a heap of ruins.

The Indians had not been accuſtomed to hear the French talk with ſo much dignity. This boldneſs ſtaggered the general of the Marattas; and, after ſome negociations ſkilfully carried on, he determined to grant peace to Pondicherry.

Whilst Dumas was procuring wealth and reſpect to the Company, the government ſent la Bourdonnais to the Iſle of France.

The Portugueſe, at the time of their firſt voyages to India, had diſcovered to the eaſt of Madagaſcar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude, three iſlands, to which they gave the names of Maſcarenhas, Cerné, and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no ſettlement upon either of the iſlands. The moſt weſtern of them, which had been called Maſcarenhas, had for it's firſt inhabitants, about the year 1660, ſeven or eight hundred Frenchmen. Five years after this they were joined by two-and-twenty of their countrymen. Their number was ſoon further increaſed by the calamity which deſtroyed the colony of Madagaſcar. The breeding of cattle was the firſt reſource of theſe adventurers, tranſplanted under a new ſky. They afterwards cultivated European corn, Aſiatic and African fruits, and ſome vegetables fit for that mild climate. The health, plenty, and freedom they enjoyed, induced ſeveral navigators, who came there for refreſhments and ſubſiſtence, to ſettle among them. Induſtry was extended

extended with population. In 1718, the diſcovery of a few wild coffee-trees ſuggeſted the idea of tranſplanting ſome coffee-trees from Arabia, which throve extremely well. The culture of this precious tree, and other laborious employments, were performed by ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa, or from Madagaſcar. Then the iſland, which had changed it's name from Maſcarenhas to the iſle of Bourbon, became an important object to the Company. There was, unfortunately, no harbour in the colony.

This inconvenience turned the views of the French miniſter at Verſailles towards the iſland of Cerné, where the Portugueſe had, as uſual, left ſome quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of ſuch of their ſhips as neceſſity ſhould oblige to touch there. The Dutch, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of it, forſook it in 1712, from an apprehenſion of multiplying their ſettlements too much. The iſland was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed it's name from Mauritius to the Iſle of France, which it ſtill bears.

It's firſt inhabitants came over from Bourbon, and were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed, as it were, a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the iſland had a maſter. The Company, long undetermined, decided at laſt for keeping it, and in 1735 la Bourdonnais was commiſſioned to improve it.

This man, who has ſince been ſo famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at ſea from the

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age of ten years; no ſort of conſideration had been able to interrupt his voyages, in every one of which he had ſignalized himſelf by ſome remarkable action. The Arabs and Portugueſe, who were preparing to maſſacre one another in the road of Mocha, had been reconciled through his mediation, and he had diſplayed his valour in the war at Mahé. He was the firſt Frenchman who ever thought of ſending armed veſſels into the Indian ſeas. He was know'n to be equally ſkilful in the art of ſhip-building, as in that of navigating and defending a ſhip. His ſchemes bore the mark of genius, nor were his views contracted by the cloſe attention he paid to all the minute details of whatever he undertook. His mind was never alarmed with the appearance of difficulties, and he poſſeſſed the rare talent of inſpiring the men under his command with the ſame elevation of ſpirit. His enemies have reproached him with an immoderate paſſion for riches; and it muſt be acknowleged he was not ſcrupulous in the means of acquiring them.

He was no ſooner arrived at the Iſle of France, than he made it his buſineſs to acquire every information he could concerning it, in which he was much aſſiſted by his fortunate ſagacity, and his indefatigable activity. In a little time he endeavoured to inſtil a ſpirit of emulation into the firſt coloniſts on the iſland, who were entirely diſcouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and attempted to reduce to a ſtrict ſubordination the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice

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and wheat, for the ſubſiſtence of the Europeans, and caſſava, which he had brought from Brazil, for the ſlaves. They were to be furniſhed from Madagaſcar with meat for the daily conſumption of the inhabitants and of ſea-faring men, till the cattle they had procured from thence ſhould multiply ſo conſiderably, as to prevent the neceſſity of importing any more. A poſt which he had eſtabliſhed on the little iſland of Rodrigue, abundantly ſupplied the ſick with turtle. Here ſhips going to India ſoon found all the refreſhments and conveniences they wanted after a tedious paſſage. Three ſhips, one of which carried five hundred tons burden, were equipped and ſent from the docks he had conſtructed. If the founder had not the ſatisfaction of bringing the colony to the utmoſt degree of proſperity it was capable of, at leaſt he had the credit of having diſcovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

THESE improvements, however, though they ſeemed to be owen to inchantment, did not meet with the approbation of thoſe who were principally concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled to juſtify himſelf. One of the directors was aſking him one day how it happened that he had conducted the affairs of the Company ſo ill, while he had taken ſo much care of his own? *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I have managed mine according to my own judgment, and thoſe of the Company according to your directions.*

GREAT men have been in all parts more uſeful to the public than large collective bodies. Nations

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and ſocieties are but the inſtruments of men of genius; theſe have been the real founders of ſtates and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, owe their foreign conqueſts and ſettlements to able warriors, experienced ſeamen, and legiſlators of ſuperior talents. France eſpecially is more indebted to ſome fortunate individuals for the glory ſhe has acquired, than to the form of her government. One of theſe ſuperior men had juſt eſtabliſhed the power of France over two important iſlands in Africa; another ſtill more extraordinary, added ſplendour to the French name in Aſia: this was Dupleix.

He was firſt ſent to the banks of the Ganges, where he ſuperintended the colony of Chandernagore. That ſettlement, though formed in a part of the globe the beſt adapted for great commercial undertakings, had been in a languid ſtate, till he took the management of it. The Company had not been able to ſend any conſiderable funds to it; and the agents, who went over there without any property of their own, had not been able to avail themſelves of the liberty that was allowed them of advancing their own private affairs. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune, the reward of ten years ſucceſsful labours, ſoon ſpread throughout the colony. In a country abounding with money they ſoon found credit, when once they ſhewed themſelves deſerving of it. In a ſhort time, Chandernagore excited the admiration of it's neighbours, and the envy of it's rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the reſt of the French in his vaſt ſpeculations,

tions, opened freſh ſources of commerce throughout the Mogul's dominions, and as far as Thibet. On his arrival he had not found a ſingle ſloop, and he fitted out fifteen armed veſſels at once. Theſe ſhips carried on trade from one part of India to another. Some he ſent to the Red Sea, to the Gulph of Perſia, to Surat, to Goa, to the Maldives and Manilla Iſlands, and to all the ſeas where there was a poſſibility of trading to advantage.

Dupleix had for twelve years ſupported the honour of the French name on the Ganges, and increaſed the revenue of the public, as well as the private fortunes of individuals, when he was called to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general ſuperintendency of all the Company's affairs in India. They were then in a more flouriſhing condition than they had ever yet been, or have ever been ſince; as the returns of that year amounted to twenty-four millions *. Had they been ſtill conducted with prudence, and had more confidence been placed in two ſuch men as Dupleix and la Bourdonnais, it is probable that ſuch a power would have been eſtabliſhed as would not have been eaſily deſtroyed.

La Bourdonnais ſaw an approaching rupture with England; and propoſed a ſcheme which would have ſecured to the French the ſovereignty of the ſeas in Aſia, during the whole courſe of the war. Convinced, that which ever nation ſhould firſt take up arms in India, would have a manifeſt ad-

* 1,000,000l.

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vantage over the other, he deſired to be furniſhed with a ſquadron, with which he intended to ſail to the Iſle of France, and there wait till hoſtilities began. He was then to ſet out from that iſland, in order to go and cruize in the ſtraits of Sunda, through which moſt of the ſhips paſs that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the Engliſh ſhips, and ſaved thoſe of the French. He would have even taken the ſmall ſquadron which England ſent into thoſe latitudes; and, having thus made himſelf maſter of the Indian ſeas, would have ruined all the Engliſh ſettlements in thoſe parts.

The miniſtry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he put to ſea.

He had ſcarcely ſet ſail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark with regard to the deſtination of the ſquadron, and at the expences it had occaſioned them, and jealous of the advantage this appointment would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed againſt this armament as they had done before, and declared it to be uſeleſs. They were, or pretended to be, ſo fully convinced of the neutrality that would be obſerved in India between the two companies, that they perſuaded the miniſter in that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer preſent to animate him, and guide his inexperience.

The court of Verſailles was not aware that a power, ſupported chiefly by trade, would not eaſily be induced to leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of the Indian ocean; and that, if ſhe either made or liſtened

liſtened to any propoſals of neutrality, it muſt be only to gain time. It was not aware that, even ſuppoſing ſuch an agreement was made *bonâ fide* on both ſides, a thouſand unforeſeen events might interrupt it. It was not aware, that the object propoſed could never be fully anſwered, becauſe the ſea-forces of both nations not being bound by any private agreement made between the two companies, would attack their ſhips in the European ſeas. It was not aware, that in the colonies themſelves preparations would be made to guard againſt a ſurpriſe; that theſe precautions would create a miſtruſt on both ſides; and that miſtruſt would bring on an open rupture. All theſe particulars were not perceived by the court, and the ſquadron was recalled. Hoſtilities began; and the loſs of almoſt every French ſhip in India, ſhewed too late which of the two was the moſt judicious ſyſtem of politics.

La Bourdonnais was as deeply affected for the errors that had occaſioned the misfortunes of the nation, as if he had been guilty of them himſelf, and exerted all his powers to remedy them. Without magazines, without proviſions, without money, he found means by his attention and perſeverance to form a ſquadron, compoſed of a ſixty-gun ſhip, and five merchantmen, which he turned into men of war. He ventured to attack the Engliſh ſquadron, beat them, purſued and forced them to quit the coaſt of Coromandel; he then beſieged and took Madraſs, the firſt of the Engliſh ſettlements. The conqueror was preparing for freſh expeditions, which were certain and eaſy; but

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he met with the moſt violent oppoſition, which not only occaſioned the loſs of the ſum of 9,057,000 livres * he had ſtipulated for as the ranſom of the city, but alſo deprived him of the ſucceſs which muſt neceſſarily have followed this event.

THE Company was then governed by two of the king's commiſſaries, who were irreconcileable enemies to each other. The directors and the inferior officers had taken part in the quarrel, as they were ſwayed by their reſpective inclinations or intereſts. The two factions were extremely exaſperated againſt each other. That which had cauſed La Bourdonnais's ſquadron to be taken from him, was enraged to ſee that he had found reſources in himſelf, which fruſtrated every attack that was made upon him. There is good reaſon to believe, that this faction purſued him to India, and inſtilled the poiſon of jealouſy into the heart of Dupleix. Two men formed to eſteem and love each other, to adorn the French name, and perhaps to deſcend together to poſterity, became the vile tools of an animoſity in which they were not the leaſt intereſted. Dupleix oppoſed La Bourdonnais, and made him loſe much time. The latter, after having ſtaid too long on the coaſt of Coromandel, waiting for the ſuccours which had been unneceſſarily delayed, ſaw his ſquadron deſtroyed by a ſtorm. The crews were diſpoſed to mutiny. So many misfortunes, brought on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined La Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid

* 377,375 l.

dungeon

dungeon was the reward of his glorious ſervices, and the end of the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents. The Engliſh, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and conſiderably reinforced, found themſelves in a condition to attack the French in their turn; and accordingly laid ſiege to Pondicherry.

Dupleix then made amends for paſt errors. He defended the town with great ſkill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened ſix weeks, the Engliſh were forced to raiſe the ſiege. The news of the peace arrived ſoon after, and all hoſtilities ceaſed between the companies of both nations.

The taking of Madraſs, La Bourdonnais's engagement at ſea, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French; and they were reſpected in thoſe parts as the firſt and greateſt of the European powers.

Dupleix endeavoured to avail himſelf of this diſpoſition, and his attention was engaged in procuring ſolid and important advantages for his nation. In order to judge rightly of his projects, we muſt lay before the reader a deſcription of the ſtate of Indoſtan at that time.

Deſcription of Indoſtan.

If we may credit uncertain tradition, that fine rich country tempted the firſt conquerors of the world. But whether Bacchus, Hercules, Seſoſtris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhauſtible fund of fictions and wonders to the ancient Greeks. Theſe people, ever

credulous, becauſe they were carried away by their imagination, were ſo inchanted with theſe marvellous ſtories, that they ſtill gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

If we conſider this matter according to the principles of reaſon and truth, we ſhall find that a pure air, wholeſome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indoſtan. They were acquainted with laws, civil government and arts; while the reſt of the earth was deſert and ſavage. Wiſe and beneficial inſtitutions preſerved theſe people from corruption, whoſe only care was to enjoy the benefits of the ſoil and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in ſome of theſe ſtates, the empire was immediately ſubverted; and when Alexander entered theſe regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities.

A country divided into numberleſs little ſtates, ſome of which were popular, and others enſlaved, could not make a very formidable reſiſtance againſt the hero of Macedonia. His progreſs therefore was rapid, and he would have ſubdued the whole country, had not death overtaken him in the midſt of his triumphs.

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sandrocotus had learned the art of war. This obſcure man, who had nothing to recommend him but his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. This deliverer of his country then made himſelf maſter of it, and united

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all Indoſtan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not know'n.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world. They ſubjected ſome few iſlands to their dominion; but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few ſettlements on it.

Three centuries after this, ſome barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khoraſſan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north ſide, and extended their depredations as far as Guzarat. They carried off immenſe ſpoils from thoſe wealthy provinces, and buried them under ground in their wretched and barren deſerts.

These calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gengis-Khan, who with his Tartars had ſubdued the greateſt part of Aſia, brought his victorious army to the weſtern borders of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not know'n what part this conqueror and his deſcendants took in the affairs of Indoſtan. Probably, they did not concern themſelves much about them; for it appears, that ſoon after, the Patans reigned over this fine country.

These men were a ſet of ſavage peaſants, who ſſuing in troops from the mountains of Candahar, ſpread themſelves throughout the fineſt provinces of Indoſtan, and eſtabliſhed there a ſucceſſion of dominions, independent of each other.

The Indians had ſcarce had time to accuſtom themſelves to this foreign yoke, when they were

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once more forced to change maſters. Tamerlane, who came from Great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruelties and his victories, advanced to the north ſide of Indoſtan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a well-diſciplined and triumphant army, inured to all the hardſhips of war. He ſecured the northern provinces himſelf, and abandoned the plunder of the ſouthern ones to his lieutenants. He ſeemed determined to ſubdue all India, when on a ſudden he turned his arms againſt Bajazet, overcame and dethroned that prince, and by the union of all his conqueſts found himſelf maſter of the immenſe ſpace that extends from the delicious coaſt of Smyrna to the delightful borders of the Ganges. After his death, violent conteſts aroſe, and his poſterity were deprived of his rich ſpoils. Babar, the ſixth deſcendant of one of his children, alone ſurvived to preſerve his name.

THAT young prince, brought up in ſloth and luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his anceſtor had ended his days. The Uſbeck Tartars dethroned him, and conſtrained him to take refuge in the Cabuliſtan. Ranguildas, the governor of that province, received him kindly, and ſupplied him with troops.

THIS wiſe man addreſſed him in the following manner; "It is not towards the north, where "vengeance would naturally call thee, that thy "ſteps muſt be directed. Soldiers, enervated by "the pleaſures of India, could not without raſhneſs "attack warriors famous for their courage and "their victories. Heaven has conducted thee to

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"the banks of the Indus, in order to fix upon "thy brow one of the richeſt diadems in the uni- "verſe. Turn thy view towards Indoſtan. That "empire, tor'n in pieces by the inceſſant wars of "the Indians and Patans, calls for a maſter. It is "in thoſe delightful regions that thou muſt eſta- "bliſh a new monarchy, and raiſe thy glory equal "to that of the formidable Tamerlane."

This judicious advice made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Babar. A plan of uſurpation was immediately traced out, and purſued with activity and ſkill. Succeſs attended the execution. The northern provinces, not excepting Delhi, ſubmitted after ſome reſiſtance; and thus a fugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which ſubſiſts to this day.

The preſervation of this conqueſt required a form of government. That which Babar found eſtabliſhed in India, was a kind of deſpotiſm, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by cuſtoms, forms, and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildneſs which theſe nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more powerful aſcendant of religious tenets. To this peaceable conſtitution Babar ſubſtituted a ſevere and military deſpotiſm, ſuch as might be expected from a victorious and barbarous nation.

If we may rely upon the authority of one of the men who is the moſt deeply verſed in Indian traditions, Ranguildas was long witneſs to the power of the new ſovereign, and exulted in the ſucceſs of his own councils. The recollection of

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the ſteps he had taken to place his maſter's ſon upon the throne, filled him with a conſcious and real ſatisfaction.

ONE day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who ſtood by him, exclaim, "O "God! thou ſeeſt the ſufferings of my brethren. "We are a prey to a young man who conſiders "us as his property, which he may ſquander and "conſume at pleaſure. Among the many chil- "dren who call upon thee from theſe vaſt re- "gions, one oppreſſes all the reſt: avenge us of "the tyrant; avenge us of the traitors who have "placed him on the throne, without examining "whether he was a juſt man."

RANGUILDAS, aſtoniſhed, drew near to the Banian, and ſaid, "O thou, who curſeſt my old "age, hear me. If I am guilty, my conſcience "has miſled me. When I reſtored the inheritance "to the ſon of my ſovereign, when I expoſed my "life and fortune to eſtabliſh his authority, God "is my witneſs, that I thought I was acting in "conformity to his wiſe decrees; and, at the "very inſtant when I hear'd thy prayer, I was "ſtill thanking heaven for granting me, in my "latter days, thoſe two greateſt of bleſſings, reſt "and glory."

"GLORY!" cries the Banian. "Learn, Ran- "guildas, that glory belongs only to virtue, and "not to actions which are only ſplendid, without "being uſeful to mankind. Alas! what advan- "tages did you procure to Indoſtan when you "crowned the ſon of an uſurper? Had you pre- "viouſly conſidered whether he was capable of

"doing

"doing good, and whether he would have the "will and reſolution to be juſt? You ſay, you "have reſtored to him the inheritance of his "fathers, as if men could be bequeathed and "poſſeſſed like lands and cattle. Pretend not to "glory, O Ranguildas! or, if you look for gra-"titude, go and ſeek it in the heart of Babar; he "owes it you. You have purchaſed it at a great "price, the happineſs of a whole nation."

Babar, however, while he was bringing his ſubjects under the yoke of deſpotiſm, took care to confine it within certain bounds, and to draw up his inſtitutes with ſo much force, that his ſucceſſors, though abſolute, could not poſſibly be unjuſt. The prince was to be the judge of the people and the arbiter of the ſtate; but his tribunal and his council were to ſit in public. Injuſtice and tyranny delight in darkneſs, that they may conceal themſelves from their intended victims: but when the monarch's actions are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of his ſubjects, it is a ſign he intends nothing but their good. Openly to inſult a number of men aſſembled, is ſuch an outrage as even a tyrant would bluſh at.

The principal ſupport of his authority was a body of four thouſand men, who ſtiled themſelves the firſt ſlaves of the prince. Out of this body were choſen the Omrahs, thoſe perſons who compoſed the emperor's councils, and on whom he beſtowed lands, diſtinguiſhed by great privileges. This ſort of poſſeſſions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that deſpotiſm enriches it's ſlaves only to plunder them.

GREAT intereſt, however, was made for the poſt of Omrah. Whoever aſpired to the government of a province, made this the object of his ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overſeers placed about them, who were not under their controul, and who were commiſſioned to inſpect the uſe they made of the military force they were intruſted with, to keep the conquered Indians in awe. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable only to the Court. That ſuſpicious court often ſent for it's delegate, and either continued or removed him, as it happened to ſuit it's fluctuating policy. Theſe changes were grow'n ſo common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, *waiting*, as he ſaid, *to ſee his ſucceſſor come out.*

THE form of government, however, was not the ſame throughout the empire; for the Moguls had left ſeveral Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their ſovereignties, and even given them a power of tranſmitting them to their deſcendents. They governed according to the laws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions ſtipulated with their anceſtors at the time of the conqueſt.

THE conquering nation could not have committed any conſiderable ravages, ſince it does not yet conſtitute more than a tenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians

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to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. The Indians are the only farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at court, in great cities, in the camps and armies.

It appears, that at the period when the Moguls entered Indoſtan, that country was no longer what it had formerly been. The landed property, which, in remote times, had been ſo firmly ſettled in the hands of private perſons, was now generally become the prey of the depoſitaries of authority. All the lands belonged to the Indian or Patan princes; and it may eaſily be imagined that ſavage conquerors, ſunk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuſe, which is the utmoſt ſtretch of arbitrary power. That portion of the lands of the empire which the new ſovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called ſubahſhips. The ſubahs, who were intruſted with the civil and military government, were alſo appointed to receive the revenues. This they committed to the care of the nabobs, whom they eſtabliſhed throughout their ſubahſhips; and theſe again truſted this buſineſs to private farmers, whoſe immediate concern it was to cultivate the lands.

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of their farm. A kind of deed was draw'n up, called jamabandi, which was depoſited in the chancery of the province; after which, the farmers went, each in his own diſtrict, to look for huſbandmen,

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husbandmen, and advanced them considerable sums to enable them to sow the ground. After harvest, the farmers remitted the produce of their grounds to the nabob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the subah, and the subah paid it into the emperor's treasury. The agreements were commonly for half the produce of the land; the other half went to pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers, and to subsist those whom they employed in tilling the land. In this system were comprised not only corn, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, salt, and tobacco, were all farmed in the same manner.

THERE were also some custom-houses, and some duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon industry. These arbitrary rulers had not thought of requiring any thing from men who had nothing left them. The weaver, sitting at his loom, worked without solicitude, and freely disposed of the fruit of his labour.

THIS liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private persons, who were not accountable to any person for them. They could dispose of them in their life time; and, after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houses of artificers, the town-houses with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewise accounted private property. They were hereditary, and might be sold.

IN the latter case, the buyer and seller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were draw'n up in writing; and the

Cothoal

Cothoal affixed his ſeal to the deed, to make it valid.

THE ſame formality was obſerved with regard to the purchaſe of ſlaves; that is, of thoſe unfortunate men, who, under the preſſure of poverty, choſe rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a ſubſiſtence, than to live under that general ſlavery in which they had no means of procuring the neceſſaries of life. They then ſold themſelves for a ſum of money; and this was tranſacted in preſence of the Cothoal, that the maſter's property might not be conteſted.

THE Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every diſtrict of a certain ſize. It was before him that the few deeds were tranſacted, which the nature of ſuch a government would admit of. Another officer, called Jemidar, decided all differences that aroſe between man and man; and his deciſions were almoſt always definitive, unleſs the cauſe was a very important one, or unleſs the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reverſed at the nabob's court. The Jemidar was likewiſe intruſted with the police. He had a power of inflicting ſlight puniſhments; but all capital offences were reſerved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce ſentence of death.

SUCH a government, which was no better than a deſpotiſm gradually deſcending from the throne down to the meaneſt officer, could have no other ſpring than a coercive power conſtantly exerted. Accordingly, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was over, the monarch quitted his capital, and reſided in his camp.

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camp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers, were ſummoned to attend him; and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces ſucceſſively, in military parade, which, however, did not preclude political artifice. One great man was often employed to oppreſs another. The moſt odious refinement of deſpotiſm is that of dividing it's ſlaves. Theſe diviſions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continually ſpreading alarm and terror. Theſe ſpies were always choſen among perſons of the firſt rank. Corruption is at it's height, when power can ennoble what is mean.

EVERY year, the great Mogul ſet out on his travels, more as a conqueror than as a ſovereign. He went to adminiſter juſtice in the provinces, as if he were going to plunder them; and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a continual ſtate of war. This manner of governing, though with legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs merely through the channel of thoſe who are inveſted with his authority, they only murmur, upon the ſuppoſition that the ſovereign is ignorant of them, and would not ſuffer any injuſtice if he knew it: but when the ſovereign gives it a ſanction by his preſence and by his own deciſions, then all confidence is at an end; the deception vaniſhes: he was a God; now he is an idiot, or a wicked man.

THE Mogul emperors, however, have long enjoyed the ſuperſtitious idea the nation had conceiv-

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ed of their ſacred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than juſtice, becauſe men are more affected with what dazzles their eyes, than with what is beneficial to them; the richneſs and ſplendour of the prince's court; the grandeur that ſurrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people thoſe prejudices of ſervile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raiſed. The various accounts that have been tranſmitted to us of the luxury of the moſt brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the oſtentatious parade of the great Mogul when he appears in public. The elephants, formerly ſo dreadful in war, but which are become uſeleſs in an army ſince the uſe of cannon; theſe immenſe animals that are unknow'n in our climates, give an Aſiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall proſtrate before their majeſtic ſovereign, who ſits exalted upon a throne of gold, glittering with precious ſtones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds ſlowly, proud to preſent the maſter of a great empire to the reſpect of ſo many ſlaves. Thus, by dazzling the eyes of men, or inſpiring them with terror, the Moguls preſerved and even enlarged their conqueſts. Aurengzebe completed them, by making himſelf maſter of the whole peninſula. All Indoſtan, excepting a ſmall portion of it along the coaſt of Malabar, ſubmitted to that ſuperſtitious and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his brothers, and his nephews.

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THIS infamous deſpot made the Mogul power an object of deteſtation, but he ſupported it as long as he lived. At his death it was irrecoverably reduced. The uncertainty, as to the right of ſucceſſion, was the firſt cauſe of the diſturbances that aroſe after his demiſe, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowleged; that which enacted, that the ſcepter ſhould never go out of the family of Tamerlane; but every emperor was at liberty to chuſe his ſucceſſor, without being obliged to regard the degree of conſanguinity. This indefinite right proved a ſource of diſcord. Young princes, whoſe birth intitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, ſupported their claim ſword-in-hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Aurengzebe. His rich ſpoils were ſtained with blood. In theſe convulſions of the ſtate, the ſprings that reſtrained an army of twelve hundred thouſand men were relaxed. Every nabob aimed at being independent, increaſing the contributions raiſed upon the people, and leſſening the tributes ſent into the emperor's treaſury. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice, or throw'n into confuſion by violent meaſures.

THE education of the young princes promiſed no remedy for all theſe evils. Left to the care of women till the age of ſeven years, tutored afterwards in ſome religious principles, they waſted

waſted in the ſoft indulgences of a ſeraglio thoſe years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and inſtructing him in the knowlege of life. Care was taken to enervate them, that they might not become dangerous. Conſpiracies of children againſt their fathers were frequent. A ſuſpicious ſyſtem of policy tended to weaken the character of theſe young men, in order that they ſhould not be capable of committing a crime. Hence that ſhocking thought of an oriental poet, that *fathers, while their ſons are living, are fondeſt of their grandſons, becauſe they love in them the enemies of their enemies.*

The Moguls retained nothing of thoſe hardy manners they had brought with them from their mountains. Thoſe among them who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, changed their habitations according to the ſeaſons. In theſe retirements, which were ſome of them more delightful than others, they lived in houſes built only of clay or earth, but the inſide of which preſented every Aſiatic luxury, together with all the pomp of the moſt corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raiſe a laſting fortune, nor tranſmit it to their poſterity, they are deſirous of crowding all their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. Every pleaſure, and even life itſelf, is exhauſted in the midſt of perfumes and women.

The Mogul empire was in this ſtate of weakneſs when it was attacked, in 1738, by the famous Nadercha, better know'n among us by the name

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of Thamas Kouli-Kan. The innumerable armies of India were diſperſed, without reſiſtance, by a hundred thouſand Perſians; as thoſe very Perſians had formerly fled before thirty thouſand Greeks trained by Alexander. Thamas entered victorious into Delhi, received the homage of Muhammet, ſuffered that weak monarch to live and to reign, united to Perſia all the provinces that ſuited him, and returned loaded with an immenſe booty, the ſpoils of Indoſtan.

MUHAMMET, deſpiſed by his conqueror, was ſtill more ſo by his ſubjects. The great men would not ſerve under a vaſſal of the king of Perſia. The nabobſhips became independent, paying only a ſmall tribute. In vain did the emperor declare that the nabobs ſhould ſtill be removeable; each of them ſtrove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the ſword decided every conteſt. The ſubjects were conſtantly at war with their maſter, and were not conſidered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pretended to a ſovereignty. The only formality obſerved, was to counterfeit the emperor's ſign manual in a *firman*, or warrant of inveſtiture. It was brought to the uſurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was neceſſary to impoſe upon the people, who had ſtill reſpect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to chooſe that all authority ſhould, at leaſt, appear to proceed from that ſource.

THUS did diſcord, ambition, and anarchy oppreſs this beautiful region of Indoſtan. Crimes could the more eaſily be concealed, as it was the

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cuſtom of the great never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obſcure agents, whom they diſowned when they found it neceſſary. Aſſaſſination and poiſoning became common crimes, which were buried in the dark receſſes of thoſe impenetrable palaces, full of attendants, ever ready to perpetrate the blackeſt acts on the leaſt ſignal from their maſter.

The foreign troops that were called in by the contending parties, completed the miſeries of this unhappy country. They carried off all the riches of the land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground; and thus it was that the treaſures amaſſed for ſo many ages gradually diſappeared. A general dejection enſued. The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures ſtood ſtill. The people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domeſtic oppreſſors. Want and famine were ſoon felt. Theſe calamities, which for ten years had infeſted the provinces of the empire, began to viſit the coaſt of Coromandel. The wiſe Nizam-el Muluck, ſubah of the Decan, was now no more. His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in a flouriſhing ſtate. The European merchants were apprehenſive that their trade might fail when it had loſt that ſupport. They ſaw no reſource againſt that danger, but to have a territory of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufacturers ſufficient to make up their lading.

Means employed by the French to acquire large poſſeſſions in India.

Dupleix was the firſt who conſidered this as a practicable ſcheme. The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped, by rapid

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rapid conqueſts, to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by a ſteady conduct and mature deliberation.

He had long ſtudied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, and their political intereſts. He had acquired ſuch knowlege of theſe matters, as might have been ſurpriſing even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi. This knowlege, deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the affairs of Indoſtan; poſſibly, to manage them at his pleaſure. His ſpirit, which prompted him to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional ſtrength to his reflections. Nothing terrified him in the great part he propoſed to act at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues from his native country. In vain did his friends repreſent to him the dangers attending ſuch an undertaking; he conſidered nothing but the glorious advantage of ſecuring to France a new dominion in the heart of Aſia; of enabling her, by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of ſovereignty; and even of freeing her from the tribute which our luxury pays to the induſtry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes, which ſhould not be bought with any exports of money, but with the overflowings of the new revenues. Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly ſeized the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and ſoon took upon him to diſpoſe of the ſubahſhip of the Decan, and the nabobſhip of the Carnatic, in favour of two men who were ready to give up any thing he ſhould require.

The

THE ſubahſhip of the Decan is a viceroyalty, made up of ſeveral provinces which were formerly ſo many independent ſtates. It extends from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. The ſubah has the ſuperintendence of all the Indian princes, and all the Mogul governors within his juriſdiction; and in his hands are depoſited the contributions that are deſtined to fill the public treaſure. He can compel his inferior officers to attend him in all military expeditions he may think proper to make into the countries under his dominion; but he is not allowed to march them into a foreign territory, without an expreſs order from the emperor.

THE ſubahſhip of the Decan becoming vacant in 1748, Dupleix, after a ſeries of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, the weakneſs of the Indians, and the boldneſs of the French, were equally conſpicuous, diſpoſed of it, towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabat-jing, a ſon of the late viceroy.

THIS ſucceſs ſecured great advantages to the French ſettlements along the coaſt of Coromandel; but Pondicherry was a place of ſuch importance, that it was thought to deſerve a particular attention. This town, which is ſituated in the Carnatic, has ſuch conſtant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich diſtrict, that it was thought adviſeable to procure the government of the province for a man whoſe affection and ſubmiſſion might be depended upon. The choice fell upon Chunda-ſaeb, a relation of the late nabob, well know'n for his intrigues, his

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misfortunes, his warlike exploits, and his ſteadineſs of temper.

In return for their ſervices, the French made him give up an immenſe territory. The principal of their acquiſitions was the iſland of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile iſland derives it's name and it's conſequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as moſt great buildings that are devoted to public worſhip. The temple is ſurrounded with ſeven ſquare incloſures, at the diſtance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by walls of a moderate height, which are proportionably thick. The altar ſtands in the center. A ſingle monument of this kind, with it's fortifications, and the myſteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion, than a multiplicity of temples and prieſts diſperſed in different towns, with their ſacrifices, ceremonies, prayers, and diſcourſes, which, by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed in public, are apt to tire the people: theſe are alſo expoſed to the contempt of enlightened reaſon, to dangerous profanations, or to the ſlight and neglect of the people; a circumſtance which the prieſts dread more than ſacrilege itſelf. The prieſts of India, as wiſe as thoſe of Egypt, ſuffer no ſtranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidſt the fables in which the hiſtory of this temple is involved, probably ſome acute philoſopher might, if he were admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and conſtruction of the edifice, and the ſuperſtitious practices

tices and traditions peculiar to that ſacred incloſure, many ſources of inſtruction, and acquire an inſight into the hiſtory of the moſt remote ages. Pilgrims reſort thither from all parts of Indoſtan, to obtain abſolution of their ſins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumſtances. Theſe gifts were ſtill ſo conſiderable at the beginning of the preſent century, as to maintain forty thouſand men in a life of ſloth and idleneſs. The Bramins of this temple, though under the reſtraints of ſubordination, were ſeldom know'n to quit their retirement for the more buſy ſcenes of intrigue and politics.

INDEPENDENT of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquiſition of Seringham, the ſituation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and an abſolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time ſtop the waters that were wanted for the culture of the rice.

THE territories of Karical and Pondicherry obtained an acceſſion of ten leagues each, with fourſcore villages. If theſe acquiſitions were not ſo conſiderable as that of Seringham in point of political influence, they were much more ſo with regard to trade.

BUT this was a trifling acquiſition compared to the territory that was gained to the North, which comprehended the Condavir, Maſulipatnam, the iſland of Divi, and the four provinces of Muſtafanagur, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important conceſſions made the French maſters of the coaſt for the ſpace of ſix hundred miles, and

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procured them the beſt linen in Indoſtan. It is true they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they ſhould furniſh the ſubah with a ſtipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which was only binding to their honeſty, gave them little concern. Their ambition made them already think themſelves in poſſeſſion of the treaſures that had been heaped up in thoſe vaſt regions for ſo many ages.

The ambitious views of the French, and their projects of conqueſt, were carried much beyond this. They propoſed to obtain a ceſſion of the capital of the Portugueſe colonies, and to ſeize upon the diſtrict of a triangular form, which lies between Maſulipatnam, Goa, and Cape Comorin.

In the mean time, till they could realize theſe brilliant chimeras, they conſidered the perſonal honours that were laviſhed upon Dupleix as a preſage of the greateſt proſperity. It is well know'n, that every foreign colony is in ſome degree odious to the natives; it is therefore good policy to endeavour to leſſen this averſion, and the ſureſt way to attain that end, is, to conform as much as poſſible to the cuſtoms and manners of the country. This maxim, which is in general true, is more particularly ſo in countries where the people reflect but little; and is conſequently ſo in India.

The inclination which the French commander had for Aſiatic pomp, was ſtill a further inducement with him to conform to the cuſtoms of the country. Accordingly, he was exceedingly rejoiced

joiced when he ſaw himſelf inveſted with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with thoſe whoſe protection he ſolicited before, and afforded him conſiderable opportunities to pave the way for thoſe great revolutions he meditated, in order to promote the important intereſts he was intruſted with. He entertained ſtill greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul poſſeſſions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of thoſe rich provinces were to be depoſited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the ſubah himſelf.

THOUGH theſe agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleaſing to the court of Delhi, they were not much afraid of it's reſentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the ſubahs, the nabobs, the rajas, his meaneſt delegates, took upon themſelves to refuſe him, found himſelf attacked on all ſides.

THE Rajaputes, deſcended from thoſe Indians with whom Alexander had been engaged in battle, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls, took ſhelter in ſome mountains that are almoſt inacceſſible. Continual diſturbances put it out of their power to think of conqueſts; but in the intervals of their diſſentions, they make inroads that cannot fail of haraſſing an empire already exhauſted.

THE Patans are ſtill more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from moſt of the thrones of Indoſtan, they have taken refuge at the foot of Mount

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Mount Imaüs, which is a continuation of the Caucaſus. That ſituation has ſtrangely altered their manners, and given them a fierceneſs of temper which they had not in a milder climate. War is their chief employment. They ſerve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes; but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to puniſh them; for they are ſo vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are ſtrong enough to attempt any bold enterprize. Since the reigning power has loſt it's ſtrength, the nation has ſhaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and did not quit that capital till they had plundered it.

To the north of Indoſtan is a nation, which, though lately know'n, is the more formidable for being a new enemy. This people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free themſelves from the chains of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, though ſurrounded by nations of ſlaves. They are ſaid to be followers of a philoſopher of Thibet, who inſpired them with ſome notions of liberty, and taught them Theiſm without any mixture of ſuperſtition. They firſt appeared in the beginning of the preſent century; but were then conſidered rather as a ſect than as a nation. During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increaſed conſiderably by apoſtates of all religions, who joined with them, and ſought ſhelter among them from the oppreſſions and fury of their

their tyrants. To be admitted of that ſociety, nothing more is required than to ſwear implacable hatred againſt monarchy. It is aſſerted, that they have a temple with an altar, on which ſtands their code of laws, and next to it a ſcepter and a dagger. Four old men are elected, who occaſionally conſult the law, which is the only ſupreme power this republic obeys. The Scheiks actually poſſeſs the whole province of Punjal, the greateſt part of the Moultan and the Sindi, both banks of the Indus, from Caſſimere to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahor to Serhend: they can raiſe an army of ſixty thouſand good cavalry.

But of all the enemies of the Moguls, none are, perhaps, ſo dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late ſo famous, as far as the obſcurity of their origin and hiſtory will allow us to conjecture, poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces of Indoſtan, from whence they were driven by the fear or the arms of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed ſeveral tribes, which in proceſs of time united into one ſtate, of which Satarah was for a long time, and Ponah now is, the capital.

Moſt of them carried vice and licentiouſneſs to all the exceſſes which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have caſt off the yoke of prejudices, without ſubſtituting wholeſome laws and knowlege in their ſtead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and the robbing of ſome caravans;

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vans; till the coaſt of Coromandel, being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them ſenſible of their ſtrength, by imploring their aſſiſtance.

At this period, they were ſeen coming out of their rocks, mounted on ſmall and ill-ſhaped horſes, but ſtout, and accuſtomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads, and to exceſſive fatigue. The whole accoutrement of a Maratta horſeman conſiſted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His proviſions were a little bag of rice, and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an excellent ſabre.

Notwithstanding the aſſiſtance of theſe barbarians, the Indian princes were forced to bend to the yoke of Aurengezebe; but the conqueror, weary of contending with irregular troops, which were continually ravaging the newly-reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that would have been diſhonourable, had it not been dictated by neceſſity, which is ſtronger than prejudices, oaths, and laws. He ceded for ever to the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of the Decan, a ſubahſhip formed out of all his uſurpations in the peninſula.

This kind of tribute was regularly paid as long as Aurengzebe lived. After his death, it was granted or refuſed according to circumſtances. The levying of it brought the Marattas in arms to the remoteſt parts of their mountains. Their boldneſs increaſed during the anarchy of Indoſtan. They have made the empire tremble; they have depoſed monarchs; they have extended their frontiers; they have granted their protection to rajas

and

and nabobs who ſtrove to be independent, and their influence has been unbounded.

While the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with ſo many enemies, all conſpiring to effect it's ruin, M. de Buſſy, who with a ſmall corps of French troops, and an army of Indians, had conducted Salabat-jing to Aurengabad his capital, endeavoured to eſtabliſh him on the throne where he had placed him. The weakneſs of the prince, the conſpiracies which it occaſioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments, obſtructed, but could not ſubvert his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, conſidering the circumſtances of his ſituation; and he preſerved him abſolutely independent of the head of the empire.

Chunda-Saeb, appointed nabob of the Carnatic, was not in ſo happy a ſituation. The Engliſh, ever in oppoſition to the French, had ſtirred up a rival againſt him, named Mohammed-Ali-Khan. The names of thoſe two princes ſerved as a pretence for carrying on a vigorous war between the two nations: they fought for glory, for wealth, and to ſerve the paſſions of their reſpective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders. Victory declared alternately for each army. Succeſs would not have been ſo fluctuating, had the governor of Madraſs had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of thoſe two men, who were both of the ſame inflexible temper, would in the

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end obtain the ſuperiority; but it was very certain that neither would ſubmit, while he had either troops or money left. Nor was it likely that either of them would ſoon be reduced to this extremity, notwithſtanding their amazing efforts, becauſe they both found ſuch reſources in their hatred and their genius, as even the moſt able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the diſturbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unleſs the peace was firſt ſettled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for ſix years might ſpread further. The miniſters of France and England obviated this danger, by enjoining the two companies to fix certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty, which began by ſuſpending all hoſtilities at the commencement of the year 1755; and was to end by eſtabliſhing between them a perfect equality of territory, of ſtrength, and of trade, on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa. This ſtipulation had not yet received the ſanction of the courts of London and Verſailles, when greater intereſts kindled a freſh war between the two nations.

War between the Engliſh and French. The French loſe all their ſettlements.

THE report of this great conteſt, which began in North America, and ſpread itſelf throughout the univerſe, reached the Eaſt Indies at a time when the Engliſh were engaged in a very intricate war with the ſubah of Bengal. Had the French been then in the ſame ſtate they were ſome years before, they would have joined with the natives. From narrow views and ill-judged intereſts, they were deſirous of entering into a formal

mal convention, to ſecure the neutrality which had ſubſiſted on the banks of the Ganges during the laſt diſturbances. Their rivals amuſed them with the hopes of ſettling this convention, ſo long as they wanted to keep them in a ſtate of inaction. But as ſoon as their ſucceſſes had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandernagore. The reduction of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the Engliſh in a condition to ſend men, money, proviſions, and ſhips, to the coaſt of Coromandel, where the French were juſt arrived with conſiderable land and ſea forces.

These forces, deſtined to protect the ſettlements of their own nation, and deſtroy thoſe of the enemy, were more than ſufficient to anſwer both thoſe purpoſes. The only point was to make a proper uſe of them; but there was a miſtake in this from the beginning, as will plainly appear from the following obſervations.

Before the commencement of the war, the Company poſſeſſed on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa, Maſulipatnam, with five provinces; a large circuit of land about Pondicherry, which for a long time before had been nothing but a ſand-bank; and an extent nearly of the ſame ſize in the neighbourhood of Karical; and, laſtly, the iſland of Seringham. Theſe poſſeſſions made four tracts of country, too far diſtant to ſupport each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made theſe acquiſitions.

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These political errors might have been amended. Dupleix, who compenſated for his defects by his great qualities, had acquired ſo great an influence, that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the moſt flouriſhing province in all the Mogul empire. By ſingular and fortunate circumſtances, it had been governed ſucceſſively by three nabobs of the ſame family, who had been equally attentive to agriculture and induſtry. General felicity had been the reſult of this mild government and public-ſpirited conduct, and the public revenues had increaſed to twelve millions *. A ſixth part of this ſum would have been given to Salabat-jing, and the reſt would have been for the Company.

If the miniſtry and the direction, who alternately ſupported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and ſettled reſolution, they might have ſent orders to their agent to give up all the remote conqueſts, and to be content with that important ſettlement. It was alone ſufficient to give the French a firm eſtabliſhment, a compact territory in which the ſettlements would be contiguous, a very large quantity of merchandiſe, proviſions for their fortified towns, and revenues ſufficient to maintain a body of troops, which would have enabled them to ſet the jealouſy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies at defiance. Unfortunately for them, the court of Verſailles ordered that Dupleix ſhould

* 50,000l.

not

hot accept of the Carnatic; and affairs remained as they were before that propoſal.

THE ſituation was critical. Dupleix was, perhaps, the only man who could ſupport himſelf in it, or in his ſtead the celebrated officer who had had the greateſt ſhare in his confidence, and was beſt acquainted with his ſchemes. The contrary opinion prevailed. Dupleix had been recalled. The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he muſt demoliſh a ſtructure which ought only to have been ſupported in thoſe troubleſome times, and diſcovered his deſigns in ſo public a manner, as contributed greatly to heighten the imprudence of his reſolutions.

THIS man, whoſe ungovernable temper could never adapt itſelf to circumſtances, had received from nature none of thoſe qualities that render a man fit for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination; ſo that there was a perpetual contraſt between his converſation and his projects, and between his projects and his actions. Paſſionate, ſuſpicious, jealous, and poſitive to exceſs, he created an univerſal diffidence and dejection, and excited animoſities never to be ſuppreſſed. His military operations, his civil government, his political combinations, all bore evident marks of the confuſion of his ideas.

THE evacuation of the iſland of Seringham was the principal cauſe of the diſaſters that attended the war with Tanjour. Maſulipatnam, and the northern provinces were loſt, from having given up the alliance of Salabat-jing. The inferior

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powers of the Carnatic, who no longer reſpected the French for the ſake of their old friend the ſubah of the Decan, completed the general ruin by eſpouſing other intereſts.

On the other hand, the French ſquadron, though ſuperior to the Engliſh, with which it had engaged three ſeveral times without gaining any advantage over it, was at laſt obliged to leave it maſter of the ſeas, by which the fate of India was decided. Pondicherry, after ſtruggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to ſurrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation draw'n up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and, by a contradiction that was characteriſtic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the Engliſh general, in which he told him, *he would have no capitulation, becauſe the Engliſh were ſuch people that they would not adhere to it.*

In taking poſſeſſion of the place, the conqueror cauſed not only the troops that had defended it, but all the French in the Company's ſervice, to be ſhipped off for Europe; and, not ſatisfied even with that revenge, they deſtroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

Those of the inhabitants who were ſent over to France, arrived in deſpair, at having loſt their fortunes, and ſeen their houſes demoliſhed as they quitted the ſhore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they excited the indignation of the public againſt their governor; they impeached him as the author of all their miſeries, and the

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ſole cauſe of the loſs of a flouriſhing colony. Lally was taken up, and tried by the parliament. He had been accuſed of high treaſon and extortion; of the firſt he was acquitted, and of the ſecond no proof could be brought; yet Lally was condemned to loſe his head.

Let us aſk, in the name of humanity, what his crime was, that it ſhould be puniſhable by law? The awful ſword of juſtice was not put into the hands of the magiſtrate to gratify private reſentment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone muſt point out it's own victims; and, if the clamours of a blind and incenſed multitude could ſway with the judges to pronounce a capital ſentence, the innocent might ſuffer for the guilty, and there would be no ſafety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the ſentence.

It declares, that Lally ſtands convicted of *having betrayed the intereſts of the king, of the ſtate, and of the India Company.* What is meant by betraying of intereſts? What law is there that makes it death to be guilty of this vague and indefinite crime? No ſuch law either does or can exiſt. Diſgrace from the prince, contempt from the nation, and public infamy; theſe are the proper puniſhments for the man, who, from incapacity or folly, has not ſerved his country as he ought: but death, and that too upon a ſcaffold, is deſtined for crimes of a different nature.

The ſentence further declares, that Lally ſtands convicted *of vexations, exactions, and abuſe of authority.* No doubt he was guilty of theſe in num-

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berleſs inſtances. He made uſe of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treaſure. He injured and oppreſſed the citizens; but he never attempted any thing againſt their lives, or againſt their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but cauſed no one to be executed upon them.

In fact, he was a madman of a dark and dangerous caſt; an odious and deſpicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions nor treaſon; and, to uſe the expreſſion of a philoſopher whoſe virtues do honour to humanity, *every one had a right to kill Lally, except the executioner.*

Cauſes of the misfortunes of the French.

The misfortunes that befel the Frenchi n Aſia had been foreſeen by all conſiderate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their morals eſpecially had degenerated in the voluptuous climate of India. The wars which Dupleix had carried on in the inland parts had laid the foundation of many fortunes. They were increaſed and multiplied by the gifts which Salabatjing laviſhed on thoſe who conducted him in triumph to his capital, and fixed him on the throne. The officers who had not ſhared the dangers, the glory, and the benefits of thoſe brilliant expeditions, found out an expedient to comfort themſelves under their misfortune; which was, to reduce the ſipahis to half the number they were ordered to maintain, and to apply their pay to their own benefit; which they could eaſily do, as the money paſſed through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not theſe reſources, accounted to the

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Company but for a very ſmall part of the profits made upon the European goods they ſold, though they ought to have been all their own; and ſold them thoſe in India at a very high price, which they ought to have had at prime coſt. Thoſe who were intruſted with collecting the revenue of any particular ſpot, farmed it themſelves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handſome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of ſuch eſtates, under pretence of ſome imaginary robbery or devaſtation, which had made it impoſſible to collect it. All undertakings, of what nature ſoever, were clandeſtinely agreed upon; and became the prey of the perſons employed in them, who had found means to make themſelves formidable, or of ſuch as were moſt in favour, or richeſt. The authorized abuſe that prevails in India, of giving and receiving preſents on the concluſion of every treaty, had multiplied theſe tranſactions without neceſſity. The navigators who landed in thoſe parts, dazzled with the fortunes which they ſaw increaſed fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ſhips, but as the means of carrying on trade and acquiring wealth. Corruption was brought to it's greateſt height by people of rank, who had been diſgraced and ruined at home; but who, being encouraged by what they ſaw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, reſolved to go themſelves into Aſia, in hopes of retrieving their ſhattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The perſonal conduct of the directors made it neceſſary for them to con-

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nive at all theſe diſorders. They were reproached with attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money, and the power it gave them; with giving the moſt important poſts to their own relations, men of no morals, application, or capacity; with multiplying the number of factors without neceſſity and without bounds, to ſecure friends in the city and at court; and, laſtly, they were accuſed of obtruding upon the public commodities which might have been bought cheaper and better in other places. Whether the government did not know of theſe exceſſes, or had not reſolution enough to put a ſtop to them, it was, by it's blindneſs or it's weakneſs, in ſome meaſure acceſſary to the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. It might even without injuſtice be charged with being the principal cauſe of them, by ſending ſuch improper perſons to manage and defend an important ſettlement, which had no leſs to fear from it's own corruption, than from the Engliſh fleets and armies.

Meaſures taken by the French to re-eſtabliſh affairs in India.

THE diſaſters of the Company abroad were aggravated by their ſituation equally diſtreſsful at home. It was neceſſary to repreſent theſe twofold misfortunes to the proprietors. This diſcovery occaſioned a general deſpondency, which gave riſe to a variety of different ſchemes, all equally abſurd. Theſe ſeveral ſchemes were haſtily diſcuſſed; nor was it poſſible that any of them could be fixed upon by men in ſuch a ſtate of uncertainty and diffidence. The deliberations were carried on with too much aſperity; and time, which was of ſo much conſequence, was loſt in upbraidings and invectives.

No

No one could foreſee where theſe commotions would end. The ſtorm at length ſubſided, and freſh hopes began to dawn. The Company, which the enemies to all excluſive privileges wiſhed to ſee aboliſhed, and which ſo many private intereſts had conſpired to deſtroy, ſtill maintained it's ground: but it was put upon a better footing; a circumſtance which was abſolutely neceſſary.

AMONG the cauſes that had occaſioned the diſtreſſes of the Company, there was one which had long been looked upon as the ſource of all the reſt; this was the dependence, or rather the ſlavery, in which the government had kept that great body for near half a century.

EVER ſince the year 1723, the directors had been choſen by the court. In 1730, a commiſſary appointed by the king was introduced into the adminiſtration of the Company. From this period there was an end to all freedom of debate; there was no longer any connection between thoſe who had the management of affairs, and the proprietors; no immediate intercourſe between the managers and the government. All was directed by the influence, and according to the views of the court. Myſtery, that dangerous veil of arbitrary adminiſtration, concealed all the operations; and it was not till 1744 that the proprietors were called together. They were impowered to name ſyndics, and to call a general meeting once a year; but they were not better informed of the ſtate of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of chuſing the directors was ſtill veſted in

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the crown, and inſtead of one commiſſary, the king choſe to have two.

FROM this time two parties were formed. Each commiſſary had his own ſcheme, his own favourites, and endeavoured to get his own projects adopted. Hence aroſe diviſions, intrigues, informations, and animoſities, which, though they originated in Paris, extended as far as India, and there broke out in a manner ſo fatal to the nation.

THE miniſtry, ſhocked at ſuch a number of abuſes, and weary of thoſe endleſs conteſts, attempted to remedy them. It was imagined he had ſucceeded, by appointing a third commiſſary. This expedient, however, ſerved only to increaſe the evil. Deſpotiſm had prevailed while there was but one; diviſion enſued on the nomination of two; and from the moment three were appointed, all was anarchy and confuſion. They were reduced to two, and pains were taken to preſerve harmony as much as poſſible between them; and in 1764 there was but one, when the proprietors deſired that the Company might be brought back to it's original form by reſtoring it's freedom.

THEY ventured to repreſent to the government, that they might impute the diſaſters and errors of the Company to themſelves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs; that they could never be carried on moſt advantageouſly both for them and for the ſtate, till this could be done with freedom, and till an immediate intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between

tween the proprietors and the directors, and between the directors and the miniſtry; that whenever there was an intermediate perſon, the orders given on one part, and the reports made on the other, would neceſſarily, in paſſing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and inclinations, ſo that he would always be, in fact, the real and ſole director of the Company; that ſuch a director, not being himſelf perſonally concerned in the affairs of the Company, or not being a competent judge of them, would always ſacrifice the welfare and true intereſt of trade, to add to the tranſient pomp of his appointment, and to ſecure the favour of placemen; that, on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free direction, choſen by the proprietors, acting under their inſpection, and in concert with them, and ſubject to no kind of reſtraint.

The government was ſenſible of the truth of theſe reaſons. It ſecured the freedom of the Company by a ſolemn edict; and ſome regulations were made, to put the direction of it under a new form.

The intention of theſe ſtatutes was, that the Company might no longer be ruled by men, who often were not worthy to be it's factors; that the government might no further interfere than to protect it; that it might be alike preſerved from that ſlavery under which it had ſo long been oppreſſed, and from that ſpirit of myſtery, which had perpetuated it's corruption; that there ſhould be a conſtant intercourſe between the directors and the proprietors; that Paris, deprived of the advantage

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advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a ſea-port, might acquire a knowlege of trade in free and peaceable aſſemblies; that the citizen might form juſt notions of that powerful tie that connects all nations together, and, by informing himſelf of the ſources of public proſperity, learn to reſpect the merchant whoſe operations contribute to it, and to deſpiſe the profeſſions that are deſtructive of it.

THESE wiſe regulations were attended with happier conſequences than could poſſibly be expected. A great activity was obſerved on all ſides. During the five years that the new direction laſted, the ſales produced annually 18,000,000 livres *. They had not been ſo conſiderable, even in thoſe times which had been looked upon as the moſt proſperous; for, from 1726 to 1736 incluſively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres †, which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,912 ‡ livres a year.

IMMINENT diſtreſs was, however, concealed under this appearance of proſperity. When this was ſuſpected, and endeavours were made to aſcertain the matter, it was found that the Company, on renewing it's trade, was more indebted than it had been ſuppoſed. This is a circumſtance common to all mercantile bodies, whoſe tranſactions are complicated, extenſive, and carried on in diſtant countries. They have ſcarce ever a juſt idea of their ſituation. Whether this miſtake be to be attributed to the fraud, neglect,

* 750,000l. † 18,224,011l. 16s. 8d. ‡ 587,871l. 6s. 8d.

or

or incapacity of their agents, certain it is, that it takes place almoſt univerſally. The confuſion is ſtill increaſed by the calamity of war. That which the French had been ſuſtaining in India, had been tedious and unſucceſsful. The expences and depredations of it were but imperfectly know'n; and the Company began their operations, reckoning upon a larger capital than they poſſeſſed.

This miſtake, ruinous in itſelf, was followed by other fatal errors, which aroſe, perhaps, from not having ſufficiently reflected on the revolutions that had happened recently in India. The Company flattered themſelves that their ſales would amount to twenty-five millions of livres *, and they were below eighteen millions †. They flattered themſelves, that the European commodities would be ſold for fifty per cent. more than they had coſt, while they ſcarce fetched their original price. They flattered themſelves with a profit of cent. per cent. upon the productions that ſhould be brought into our climates, and it amounted to no more than ſeventy-two per cent.

All theſe miſcalculations aroſe from the ruin of the French credit in India, and from the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately ſubdued thoſe diſtant regions: from the neceſſity there frequently was of taking upon credit bad merchandize from the Engliſh merchants, who were endeavouring to convey to Europe the immenſe fortunes they had amaſſed in

* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d. † 750,000l.

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Aſia: from the impoſſibility of procuring funds neceſſary for carrying on the trade without giving an exorbitant intereſt: from the obligation the Company were under of ſupplying proviſions for the iſles of France and Bourbon, which advances were ſlowly and ill paid by the government, as well as the gratifications granted to them for their exports and imports.

Lastly, according to the plan of the directors, the expences neceſſary for the carrying on of trade, and for the maintaining of ſovereignty, were not to exceed four millions of livres *, whereas they amounted to more than twice that ſum. The expences for maintaining the right of ſovereignty might even be carried much beyond this in future, ſince in their nature they were capable of being extended and increaſed in conformity with the political views of the monarch, the ſole judge of their importance and neceſſity.

In ſuch a ſituation, it was impoſſible that the diſorderly ſtate of the affairs of the Company ſhould not be more and more increaſed. Their ruin, as well as that of their creditors, was upon the point of being completed, when government, warned by the repeated loans they were continually renewing, determined to inquire into the ſtate of their finances. As ſoon as it became acquainted with them, it was thought proper to ſuſpend their excluſive privilege of trade with India. Let us now examine what was the condition of the Company at that period.

* 180,000l.

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The charter of the company is ſuſpended. Their ſtate at that period.

BEFORE 1764, the number of ſhares amounted to 50,268. At that period the miniſtry, who, in 1746, 1747, and 1748, had given up to the proprietors the produce of the ſhares and bonds which were their property, relinquiſhed in their favour the ſhares and bonds themſelves, to the number of 11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the laſt war. Theſe ſhares having been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

THE wants of the company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres * per ſhare. Upwards of 34,000 ſhares anſwered the call. The 4000 that did not were reduced, by the terms of the edict which impowered the Company to make the call, to five-eights of the value of thoſe which had paid; ſo that by this operation the number was reduced to 36,920 whole ſhares and ſix-eighths.

THE dividends on the ſhares of the French company, as of all other companies, have varied according to circumſtances. In 1722 it was 100 livres †. From 1723 to 1745 it was 150 ‡. From 1746 to 1749 it was 70 §. From 1750 to 1758 it was 80 ‖. From 1759 to 1763 it was 40 **; and in 1764, it was but 20 livres ††. This account ſhews that the dividend, and the value of the ſtock, which always kept pace with it, was neceſſarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion. Hence that pro-

* 16l. 13s. 4d.
† 4l. 3s. 4d.
‡ 6l. 5s.
§ 2l. 18. 4d.
‖ 3l. 6s. 8d.
** 1l. 3s. 4d.
†† 16s. 8d.

digious

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digious riſe and fall in the price of the ſhares, which fell in one year from two hundred * to one hundred piſtoles †; then roſe to 1800 livres ‡, and ſoon after fell to 700 §. Yet, in the midſt of theſe revolutions, the ſtock of the company was much the ſame. But this is a calculation which the public never makes. It is determined by the circumſtance of the preſent moment, and it's confidence, as well as it's fears, are always exaggerated.

THE proprietors, who were under apprehenſions of having their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the riſques of ſuch a ſituation. In laying in a freſh ſtock to trade with, they deſired to ſecure the remainder of their fortune in ſuch a manner, as that the ſhares ſhould at all times bear a ſettled price, and an intereſt that could be depended upon. The government ſettled this matter by an edict iſſued out in Auguſt 1764. The XIIIth article expreſsly ſays, That, to ſecure to the proprietors a ſettled income independent of all future events of trade, a ſufficient fund ſhould be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to ſecure to every ſhare a capital of 1600 livres ‖, and an intereſt of 80 livres **; and that *neither that intereſt, nor that capital, ſhould, in any caſe, or for any cauſe whatſoever, be anſwerable for ſuch engagements as the company might enter into after the date of this edict.*

* 167l. 18s. N. B. Each piſtole is reckoned at 16s. 9d.
† 83l. 15s. ‡ 75l. 8s. § 29l. 3s. 4d.
‖ 66l. 13s. 4d. ** 3l. 6s. 8d.

THE

THE company, therefore, owed for 36,920 ſhares and ſix-eighths, at the rate of 80 livres * per ſhare, an intereſt amounting to 2,953,660 livres †. They paid for their ſeveral contracts 2,727,506 livres ‡, which made in all 5,681,166 livres § of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres ‖. The ſum total of all theſe life annuities and annual payments was then 8,756,065 livres **. In what manner the company raiſed money to anſwer their ſeveral demands, ſhall be the ſubject of our next inquiry.

That great body, which had been much too deeply concerned in Law's ſcheme, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres ††. When that ſyſtem failed, the government made over to them in payment the excluſive ſale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions ‡‡ a year; but they were left without a capital to trade with. This kept them in a ſtate of inaction till 1726, when the government lent them it's aſſiſtance. The rapid progreſs they made aſtoniſhed all nations, and ſeemed to promiſe them a ſuperiority over the moſt flouriſhing companies. This opinion, which was the general one, emboldened the proprietors to complain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, as well as the public, that the king's treaſury was enriched with their ſpoils. The profound ſecrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly ſtrengthened theſe ſurmiſes.

* 3l. 6s. 8d.
† 123,069l. 3s. 4d.
‡ 113,646l. 1s. 8d.
§ 236,715l. 5s.
‖ 128,120l. 15s. 10d.
** 364,836l. 10d.
†† 3,750,000l.
‡‡ 125,000l.

THE

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THE breaking-out of the war between France and England, in 1744, diſſolved the charm. The miniſtry, too much embarraſſed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the Company, left it to extricate itſelf. Then, indeed, every one was ſurpriſed to ſee that Coloſſus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any ſhock, and whoſe greateſt misfortune had been the loſs of two ſhips of a moderate value. The company would have been ruined, had not the government, in 1747, declared itſelf their debtor in the ſum of 180,000,000 of livres *, and engaged to pay them the intereſt of that ſum for ever at five *per cent.* This engagement, which was in lieu of the excluſive ſale of tobacco, is ſo important a point in the hiſtory of the company, that it would not be ſufficiently illuſtrated, if we did not trace the matter further back.

THE uſe of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the diſcovery of America, made no very rapid progreſs in France. The conſumption was ſo ſmall, that the firſt contract, which began the firſt of December 1674, and ended the firſt of October 1680, brought in but 50,000 livres † to the government the two firſt years, and 600,000 ‡ the four laſt; though the right of ſtamping pewter had been joined to this privilege. This farm of the revenue was confounded with the general farms till 1691, when it ſtill remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres § a

* 7,500,000l.
† 20,833l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 25,000l.
§ 62,500l.

year.

year. In 1697, it became once more a ſeparate farm on the ſame terms, till 1709, when it was increaſed to 100,000 livres * more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two firſt years ought to have produced 2,000,000 of livres †, and the laſt 200,000 ‡ more. At that period it was increaſed to 4,020,000 livres § a year; but this laſted only from the firſt of October 1718 to the firſt of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued ſo till the firſt of September 1721. During this ſhort interval, private perſons laid in ſuch a ſtock, that, when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This contract, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the firſt of September 1721, and continue to the firſt of October 1730. The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres ‖ for the firſt thirteen months; 1,800,000** for the ſecond year; 2,560,000 †† for the third; and 3,000,000 ‡‡ for each of the laſt ſix years. This agreement did not take place, becauſe the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres §§, which had been depoſited in the royal treaſury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be juſt, and they obtained what they ſo warmly ſolicited.

* 4,166l. 13s. 4d.
† 83,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 8,333l. 6s. 8d.
§ 167,500l.
‖ 154,166l. 13s. 4d.
** 75,000l.
†† 106,666l. 13s. 4d.
‡‡ 125,000l.
§§ 3,750,000l.

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THEY managed this farm themſelves, from the firſt of October 1723, to the laſt day of September 1730. The produce during that ſpace was 50,083,967 livres 11 ſous 9 deniers *; which made 7,154,852 livres 10 ſols 3 den. † a year; out of this muſt be deducted yearly 3,042,963l. 19s. 6d. ‡ for the charges of preparing the land.

THESE charges were ſo enormous, that it was thought the buſineſs, which grew every day more conſiderable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would manage it at leſs expence by means of the clerks they employed for other purpoſes. The company accordingly farmed it for eight years, at the rate of 7,500,000 livres § for each of the firſt four years, and 8,000,000 ‖ for each of the four laſt. This contract was continued upon the ſame terms till the month of June 1747; and the king promiſed to account with the company for the increaſe of the produce, as ſoon as it ſhould be know'n and aſcertained.

AT this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the uſe of the company, an annuity of nine millions ** for ever, upon a capital of an hundred and eighty millions ††. This large compenſation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions ‡‡; for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negroe trade, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the

* About 2,086,831l. 18s. 10d.
† About 298,120l. 17s. 1d.
‡ About 126,790l. 4s. 2d.
§ 32,000l.
‖ 333,333l. 6s. 8d.
** 375,000l.
†† 7,500,000l.
‡‡ 3,750,000l.

war,

war, for their giving up the excluſive privilege of the trade to St. Domingo, and for the loſs of the ton duty, which had been ſuſpended ever ſince the year 1731. Yet this compenſation has been thought inadequate by ſome of the proprietors, who have diſcovered, that ever ſince the year 1758, upwards of 11,700,000 pounds weight of tobacco have been annually ſold in the kingdom at three livres * a pound, though it had been bought for twenty-ſeven livres † a hundred.

The nation was of a very different opinion. The directors, who prevailed upon government to acknowlege ſo large a debt, have been accuſed of ſacrificing the intereſt of the public to that of a private ſociety. A writer, who in our days ſhould examine whether this accuſation were well or ill-grounded, would paſs for an idle man. Such a diſcuſſion would be altogether needleſs, ſince every circumſtance of this tranſaction has been made public. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that it was with the nine millions ‡ a year, improperly ſacrificed by the ſtate, that the Company was enabled to anſwer the demand of 8,756,065 livres § with which it was charged, ſo that the the overplus remaining to them amounted to about 244,000 livres ‖ of net revenue.

It is true, they had private ſimple-contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres **; but they had in trade, in ſtock, or in debts to call in,

* 2s. 6d.
† 1l. 2s. 6d.
‡ 375,000l.
§ 364,836l. 0s. 10d.
‖ 10,166l. 13s. 4d.
** 3,104,375l.

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70,733,000 livres *. It will be acknowleged, that beſide the difference in the value, there was alſo ſome in the nature of the ſecurities. Accordingly, the government muſt have expected, that it would be obliged to fulfil the engagements of the Company. It has, however, ſaved ten millions of livres †, the claims of which have been loſt, or the claimants themſelves have unfortunately periſhed in the revolutions that happen ſo frequently in Aſia. The loſſes that have been ſuſtained, reſpecting what was due to the Company in Europe, in America, and in the Indies, have not been much more conſiderable; and if the iſles of France and Bourbon were ever able to pay the 7,106,000 livres ‡ they owe, the injury upon this point would not have been of much conſequence.

THE only wealth of the Company conſiſted therefore in moveable and unmoveable effects, to the amount of about twenty millions §, and in the proſpect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time muſt bring in three millions ‖ a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions **.

INDEPENDENT of theſe properties, the Company enjoyed ſome very beneficial rights. The excluſive ſale of coffee had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception ſhould be made in 1736, with regard to coffee

* 2,947,208l. 6s. 8d.
† 416,666l. 13s. 4d.
‡ 296,089l. 6s. 8d.
§ 833,333l. 6s. 8d.
‖ 125,000l.
** 1,250,000l.

imported

imported from the American iſlands, they obtained, by way of compenſation, a yearly ſum of 50,000 livres *, which was always duly paid. Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767, the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The Company obtained no indemnification on this account.

They had experienced a greater loſs the year before. In 1720 they had been inveſted with the ſole right of tranſporting ſlaves to the American colonies. This ſyſtem ſoon appeared to be erroneous; and it was agreed, that all the merchants in the kingdom ſhould be at liberty to carry on the ſlave trade, upon condition of adding a piſtole † per head to the thirteen livres ‡ granted out of the royal treaſury. Suppoſing that 15,000 negroes were diſpoſed of every year in the French iſlands, this made a clear income of 345,000 livres § for the Company. This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken off in 1767, and was made up to them by a more reaſonable equivalent.

At the firſt formation of the Company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres ‖ upon every ton of goods they ſhould export, and of 75 ** upon every ton they ſhould import from abroad. The miniſtry, upon the ſuppreſſion of the bounty upon negroes, increaſed the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres **, and upon every ton im-

* 2,083l. 6s. 8d. † 16s. 9d. ‡ 10s. 10d.
§ 14,375l. ‖ 2l. 1s. 8d. ** 3l. 2s. 6d.

ported to 80*. If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we ſhall find a produce of above a million† for the Company, including the 50,000 livres ‡ they received upon the coffee.

WHILE the income of the Company remained entire, their expences were leſſened. By the edict of 1764, the iſlands of France and Bourbon were become the property of the government, which engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement the Company was exonerated of two millions § a year, without the leaſt detriment to the excluſive trade they enjoyed in thoſe two iſlands.

WITH all theſe ſeemingly proſperous circumſtances, the debts of the Company were daily increaſing, and it could not poſſibly have ſupported itſelf without the aſſiſtance of government. But for ſome time paſt the council of Lewis XV. had appeared to be very indifferent about the exiſtence of that great body. At laſt a decree of council was iſſued, bearing date the 13th of Auguſt 1769, by which the king ſuſpended the excluſive privilege of the India Company, and granted to all his ſubjects the liberty of navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under ſome reſtraint. The decree which opens this new tract to private navigators, requires them to provide themſelves with paſſports, which are to be given

* 3l. 6s. 8d.
† 41,666l. 13s. 4d.
‡ 2,083l. 6s. 8d.
§ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

them

them gratis by the directors of the India Company. It obliges them to make their returns to Port l'Orient, and no where elſe. It eſtabliſhes a duty by way of Indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a ſecond decree of council, iſſued on the ſixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent. on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent. upon all commodities of the growth of the iſlands of France and Bourbon.

The Company loſe all hopes of reviving their trade, and cede all their effects to government.

THE decree of the 13th of Auguſt, by only ſuſpending the privilege of the Company, ſeemed to leave to the proprietors the power of reſuming it: but as they ſaw no probability of ever being able to do this, they wiſely determined to liquidate their concerns in ſuch a manner, as to ſecure their creditors, and the remains of their own fortunes.

FOR this purpoſe they offered to give up to the king all the Company's ſhips, thirty in number; all the warehouſes and other buildings belonging to them at Port l'Orient and in India; the property of their factories, with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military ſtores; and, laſtly, two thouſand four hundred and fifty ſlaves which they had in the iſlands. All theſe articles were valued at thirty millions * by the proprietors, who at the ſame time demanded the payment of 16,500,000 livres † which were due to them by the government.

THE king agreed to the propoſal, but choſe to leſſen the purchaſe-money; not that the effects were

* 1,250,000l. † 687,500l.

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not of ſtill greater value while they remained in the hands of the Company; but being made over to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that, inſtead of 46,500,000 livres *, which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres †, upon a capital of thirty millions ‡. The edict for that purpoſe was iſſued in January 1770.

THIS new contract the Company mortgaged for twelve millions §, which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent. and by a lottery in February following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the laſt expeditions; but it was inſufficient; ſo that, finding themſelves utterly unable to raiſe more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the proprietors of the ſhares.

THE principal articles compriſed in this ceſſion, conſiſted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres ‖ in life annuities; in that part of the contract of nine millions ** which exceeded the capital of the ſhares; in the hotel of Paris; in the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, ſuppoſed to be worth 26,000,000 of livres ††; and, laſtly, in

* 1,937,500l. † 50,000l. ‡ 1,250,000l.
§ 458,333l. 6s. 8d. ‖ 175,000l. ** 375,000l.
†† 1,833,333l. 6s. 8d.

three

three or four millions * of debts, to be called in from debtors either ſolvent or inſolvent, in India, in the iſles of France and Bourbon, and at San Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the ſame time to furniſh the king with a ſum of 14,768,000 livres †, to be raiſed by way of a call, which was fixed at 400 livres ‡ per ſhare. The government, in accepting theſe ſeveral offers, engaged on their part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities which the Company was bound to pay; all their other engagements, amounting to about forty-five millions §; all the penſions and half-pays granted by the Company, amounting to 80,000 livres ‖ a year; and laſtly, to ſtand to all the charges and riſques attending a liquidation that muſt neceſſarily continue ſome years.

The capital of each ſhare, which, by the edict of Auguſt 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres **, bearing an intereſt of 80 livres ††, the king now raiſed to 2500 livres ‡‡, bearing an intereſt of 125 livres §§ a year. The new intereſt was made ſubject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed that this deduction ſhould be annually appropriated to the paying off the ſhares by lot, on the footing of their capital of 2500 livres ‖‖; ſo that the intereſt on the ſhares thus paid off, would increaſe the ſinking fund till the whole of the ſhares was finally liquidated.

* About 150,000l. upon an average.
† 615,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 16l. 13s. 4d.
§ 1,875,000l.
‖ 3,333l. 6s. 8d.
** 66l. 13s. 4d.
†† 3l. 6s. 8d.
‡‡ 104l. 13s. 4d.
§§ 5l. 4s. 2d.
‖‖ 104l. 13s. 4d.

THESE reſpective conditions are recorded in a decree of council of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations holden the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent, bearing date the 22d of the ſame month. In conſequence of theſe agreements, the call has been paid, a ſufficiency for the reimburſement of the ſhares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been taken out every year, and the ſimple contract debts of the Company have been punctually paid when they became due.

FROM all theſe particulars, it is no eaſy matter to form an idea of the actual mode of exiſtence of the India Company, and of the legal ſtate of the trade they carried on. This Company, which at preſent has no property, no buſineſs, no object, cannot however be conſidered as being entirely deſtroyed, ſince the proprietors have reſerved the joint ſtock that was mortgaged for their ſhares; and that they have a common cheſt, and deputies to ſuperintend their intereſts. On the other hand, their charter has been ſuſpended; but it is only ſuſpended, and is not included among the articles which the Company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is ſtill in force; and the ſhips that are fitted out for the Indian ſeas, cannot ſail without a permiſſion in the name of the Company. So that the freedom which has been granted is but a precarious one; and if the proprietors ſhould offer to reſume their trade, with a ſufficient ſtock to carry it on, they would have

an

an undoubted right to do it without any new law to impower them. But except this nominal right, which in fact is much the ſame as if it did not exiſt, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exerciſe it; all their other rights, properties, and factories, are now in the hands of government.

NEVERTHELESS, the voyages to India have been ſtill continued, although the ſyſtem of policy had not previouſly paved the way for the free trade that was to ſucceed the monopoly. If ſound principles had been followed, before the new mode of trading had been attempted, it would have been neceſſary to ſubſtitute inſenſibly, and by degrees, the private merchants to the Company. They ſhould have been enabled to acquire knowlege upon the different branches of a trade with which they were yet unacquainted. They ſhould have been allowed time to form connections in the factories. They ſhould have been encouraged, and, as it were, conducted in the firſt expeditions.

THIS want of foreſight muſt be one of the principal cauſes which have retarded the progreſs of the free trade, and which perhaps have prevented it from being lucrative when it became more extenſive: it's tranſactions have been carried on in thoſe factories which were previouſly occupied by the monopolizing Company. Let us take a curſory view of thoſe ſettlements, beginning with Malabar.

Preſent ſtate of the French upon the coaſt of Malabar.

BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, lies a diſtrict which extends eighteen leagues along the coaſt, and ſeven or eight leagues at moſt in

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the inland parts. The country, which is very unequal, abounds with pepper and cocoa-trees. It is divided into ſeveral leſs diſtricts, ſubject to as many Indian lords, who are all vaſſals to the houſe of Colaſtry. The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concerns the worſhip of the gods. It would be beneath his dignity to ſtoop to profane matters; and the reins of government are given to his neareſt relation. The country is divided into two provinces. In the largeſt, called the Irouvenate, is the factory of Tellicherry, where the Engliſh purchaſe annually fifteen hundred weight of pepper; and the factory of Cananor, which the Dutch have lately ſold for about 250,000 livres *, becauſe it was an incumbrance to them.

The ſecond province, called Catenate, extends but five leagues along the coaſt. Here the French were called in by the natives in 1722, with a view to engage them to act againſt the Engliſh; but an accommodation having taken place, and made their aſſiſtance unneceſſary, they were forced to relinquiſh a poſt where they promiſed themſelves ſome advantages. Fired with reſentment and ambition, they returned in greater numbers in 1725, and eſtabliſhed themſelves ſword-in-hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithſtanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince, who governed that diſtrict, an excluſive right to the pepper trade. This favour was ſo great an advantage to them, that it gave riſe to a

* 10,416l. 13s. 4d.

colony

colony of 6,000 Indians, who cultivated 6,350 cocoa trees, 3,967 areka, and 7,762 pepper-trees. Such was the ſtate of this ſettlement, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in 1760.

The ſame ſpirit of deſtruction that they had ſhew'n in all their conqueſts, influenced them at Mahé. Their intention was to pull down the houſes, and diſperſe the inhabitants. The ſovereign of that country diſſuaded them from their purpoſe. All was ſpared, except the fortifications. When the French returned to their factory, they found every thing much in the ſame condition as they had left it.

Mahé is ſurrounded with hills, on which were erected five forts, that no longer exiſt. Theſe works were too numerous, though ſome precautions are abſolutely neceſſary. It is not proper to be perpetually expoſed to the depredations of the Nayers, who have formerly attempted to plunder and deſtroy the colony, and who might poſſibly have ſtill the ſame intentions, in order to put themſelves under the protection of the Engliſh at Tellichery, which is but three miles diſtant from Mahé.

Beside the poſts requiſite to ſecure the place itſelf, it is very neceſſary to fortify the entrance of the river. Since the Marattas have got ports of their own, they infeſt the ſea about Malabar with their piracies. Thoſe banditti even attempt to land wherever they think there is ſome booty to be got. Mahé would not be ſecure from their attacks,

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attacks, if it contained money or commodities to tempt them.

THE French might make themſelves ample amends for any expences they ſhould incur, if they did but carry on their trade with ſpirit and ſkill. Their factory is the beſt ſituated for the pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pounds weight of that commodity. What could not be conſumed in Europe might be ſold in China, on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would coſt them twelve ſous *, and they would ſell it for twenty-five or thirty †.

THIS advantage, conſiderable as it is, would be increaſed by the profits upon European goods which would be carried over to Mahé. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with that factory are of opinion, that it will be an eaſy matter to diſpoſe of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gunpowder, 50 anchors or graplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 ells of ſail-cloth, a good quantity of quickſilver, and about 200 caſks of wine or brandy, for the French ſettled in the colony, or for the Engliſh in the neighbourhood. Theſe ſeveral articles together would produce at leaſt 384,000 livres ‡, of which 153,600 § would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. Another advantage attending this circulation is, that there would always be a ſtock in the factory, which would enable them to purchaſe the produc-

* 6d.
† About 1s. 2d. on an average.
‡ 16,000l.
§ 6,400l.

tions

tions of the country in the ſeaſons of the year when they are cheapeſt.

THE greateſt obſtacle to trade is the cuſtom-houſe eſtabliſhed in the colony. This troubleſome duty belongs to the ſovereign of the country, and has always been a ſubject of contention. The Engliſh of Tellicherry, who laboured under the ſame grievance, have found means to prevent all diſputes about theſe duties, by paying a certain yearly ſum as an equivalent. The French might do the ſame; but they cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unleſs they previouſly pay him the 46,353 roupees, or 111,247 livres 4 ſols *, which he has lent; and unleſs they no longer refuſe him the tribute ſtipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be ſo eaſily adjuſted at Bengal.

Preſent ſtate of the French at Bengal.

FRANCE has engaged, by the treaty of 1763, to erect no fortifications, and keep no troops in that rich and extenſive country. The Engliſh, who are ſovereigns there, will not ſuffer the French to deviate from what they have required. Conſequently Chandernagore, which before the laſt war reckoned 60,000 ſouls, and has now but 24,000, is, and always will be, entirely an open place.

To this misfortune of a precarious ſituation, may be added injuries and hardſhips of every kind. Not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of unlimited authority, the Engliſh have been guilty of the

* 4,635l. 6s.

moſt

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moſt ſcandalous enormities. They have inſulted the French in their work-ſhops; ſeduced their workmen; cut the linens off of the looms; inſiſted that the manufacturers ſhould do no work but for them in the three beſt months of the year; and that their own ladings ſhould be picked out and completed before any thing was removed out of the work-ſhops. The ſcheme which the French and Dutch had contrived together, of making an exact eſtimate of the number of weavers, taking only half between them, and leaving the reſt to the Engliſh, has been conſidered as an inſult. That ruling nation have proceeded ſo far as to declare, that they would have their factors buy the goods even in Chandernagore; and the French have been forced to ſubmit to this hardſhip, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have ſo much abuſed the unjuſt right of victory, that a philoſopher might be tempted to wiſh for the ruin of their liberty, were not the people infinitely more oppreſſive and cruel under the government of one man, than under a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the preſent footing in that opulent part of Aſia, the French will meet with perpetual hardſhips and mortifications, and therefore no ſolid and laſting advantage can accrue to trade. They would be reſcued from this diſgrace, if they could exchange Chandernagore for Chatigan.

CHATIGAN is ſituated on the confines of Arracan. The Portugueſe, who in the days of their proſpe-

rity endeavoured to get all the important posts in India into their own hands, made a considerable establishment at that place. Those who were settled there threw off the yoke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spanish dominions, chusing rather to turn pirates than to be slaves. They long infested the neighbouring coasts and seas with their depredations. At last they were attacked by the Moguls, who raised a colony upon their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. This place then sunk into obscurity till 1758, when the English arrived and settled there.

The climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and provisions are in great plenty; the landing is easy, and the anchorage safe. The continent and the island of Sondiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at least communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chatigan be further distant from Patna, Cassimbuzar, and some other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hughly, it is nearer to Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no consequence, whether ships of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that side, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

Though the knowlege the English had of these advantages had determined them to seize upon Chatigan, we are inclined to think they would have given it up at the last peace, to get

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rid of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near their own ſettlements, and which long habit had endeared to them. We even preſume, that at Chatigan the Engliſh would have deſiſted from thoſe conditions they required at Chandernagore, which ſtamp a diſgrace upon the poſſeſſors, more detrimental to the ſchemes of commerce than it is poſſible to conceive. Trade is a free profeſſion. The ſea, the voyages, the riſque, and the viciſſitudes of fortune, all inſpire a love of independence. This gives life and ſpirit to trade, which, when confined, languiſhes, and is loſt.

THE preſent opportunity is, perhaps, a favourable one, to think of the exchange we propoſe. The fortifications which the Engliſh had begun to erect at Chatigan having been throw'n down by frequent earthquakes, they ſeem to have taken a diſlike to a place for which they had ſhew'n ſome predilection. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceleſs town. It is better to ſtrive againſt nature than againſt men, and to be expoſed to the ſhocks of the earth than to the inſults of nations. The French, though reſtrained at Bengal, fortunately meet with ſome compenſation, in having a better ſituation on the coaſt of Coromandel.

Preſent ſituation of the French upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

To the north of that very extenſive coaſt, they poſſeſs Yanam, in the province of Rajahmandry. This factory, which has no land belonging to it, and is ſituated nine miles from the mouth of the river Ingerom, was formerly a very flouriſhing one.

one. From miſtaken motives it was neglected about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres *, as the cotton manufactures are very conſiderable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for diſpoſing of European cloth. The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to ſhare the profit with the Engliſh, who have a ſmall ſettlement within two miles of the French.

The competition is much more detrimental to their intereſt at Maſulipatnam. The French, who formerly were maſters of the whole town, but have nothing left now except the factory they had before 1749, cannot poſſibly contend with the Engliſh, who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy beſides all the favour in their own trade which ſovereignty can command. Things being thus circumſtanced, the French confine their dealings to the purchaſe of ſome fine handkerchiefs and other callicoes, to the amount of 150,000 livres †. It is far otherwiſe at Karical.

This town, ſituated in the kingdom of Tanjour, on one of the branches of the Coleroon, which will bear ſhips of 150 tons burthen, was ceded to the Company in 1738, by a dethroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been reſtored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to

* From 16,666l. 13s. 4d. to 20,833l. 6s. 8d. † 6,250l.

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the French, who were in friendſhip with him. Soon after this, the ungrateful and perfidious prince was ſtrangled by the intrigues of his uncles; and his ſucceſſor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being deſirous of obtaining the friendſhip of a powerful nation, confirmed them in their poſſeſſion. The Engliſh took the place in 1760, and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards reſtored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

In it's preſent ſtate, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, moſt of them employed in weaving ordinary handkerchiefs and cottons, for the wear of the natives. The territory belonging to it, which has been conſiderably increaſed by the conceſſions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at firſt, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadeſt part. It is compoſed of fifteen hamlets, of which one only deſerves our notice; this is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no leſs than 25,000 ſouls. The inhabitants weave and paint Perſians that are tolerably fine, fit for Batavia and the Philippine iſlands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have ſmall veſſels, with which they trade to Ceylon, and along the coaſt.

France may draw annually from this ſettlement, two hundred bales of cottons or handkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the ſubſiſtence of her other colonies.

All goods bought at Karical, Yanam, and Maſulipatnam, are carried to Pondicherry, the chief ſettlement of the French in India.

The

THIS town, which roſe from ſuch ſmall beginnings, in time became a great, powerful, and famous city. The ſtreets, which are all ſtrait, and moſt of them broad, are lined with two rows of trees, which keep them cool even in the heat of the day. The moſt remarkable public edifices are a moſque, two pagodas, two churches, and the governor's houſe, which is reckoned the moſt magnificent building in the eaſt. A ſmall citadel had been conſtructed in the year 1704; but it is of no uſe, ſince houſes have been allowed to be built all round it. To ſupply the loſs of this defence, three ſides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, baſtions, and a glacis, which was unfiniſhed in ſome places. The road was defended by ſome batteries judiciouſly placed.

THE town, which was full a league in circumference, contained 70,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Meſtees, or Topaſſes. There were at moſt 10,000 Mohammedans; the reſt were Indians, 15,000 of whom were Chriſtians, and the others of ſeventeen or eighteen different caſts or tribes. Three villages, dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 ſouls.

SUCH was the ſtate of the colony, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in the beginning of the year 1761, utterly deſtroyed it, and turned out the inhabitants. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the barbarous right of war could juſtify ſuch enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from ſo many cruelties committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation; and conſider only the reſolution France has taken to reſtore

Pondicherry to it's former ſplendour. Every thing concurs to juſtify the wiſdom of this choice.

This town, like all others on the coaſt of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The ſhips can anchor cloſe to the ſhore, under the cannon of the fortifications. It's territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing more than a barren ſand-bank on the ſea-coaſt; but the greateſt part is fit for the culture of rice, vegetables, and a root called chayaver, which is uſed in dying. Two ſmall rivers that croſs the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the ſame purpoſe, particularly for the blue dye. Three miles from the town is a hill, which riſes a hundred toiſes above the level of the ſea, and is a guide to ſhips at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues; which is a very conſiderable advantage upon ſo flat a coaſt. At the top of this hill is a very large body of water, that has been collecting for ages, and, after refreſhing and fertilizing a ſpacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Laſtly, the colony is favourably ſituated for the reception of proviſions and merchandiſe from the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Myſore and Tanjour.

Such were the important reaſons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As ſoon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been diſperſed by the calamities of war, and by political intrigues, flocked thither in great numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had

nad rebuilt their ruined houſes. They are all brought up in the idea, that no man can be happy who does not die in the very place where he firſt ſaw the light. This prejudice, ſo pleaſing to them, and which it may be ſo uſeful to keep up, will undoubtedly make them all return, as ſoon as the town is incloſed.

This deſign was ſet on foot ſome years after the French had regained poſſeſſion of the place. No other idea was then entertained with regard to building upon a ſandy ſoil, where the foundations muſt neceſſarily be laid in the water, than that of a fortification raiſed *ſur puits*, a very expenſive kind of work, and to which there is, as it were, no end. M. Bourcet preferred the erecting of it upon forelands, with a *revêtement* (or outward coating) of no thickneſs, ſloping to two-fifths of it's height, and ſupported by a rampart of wet earth, well beat and compacted. Theſe forelands had been formerly employed in the conſtruction of the walls ſurrounding the place: but the foundation of the walls which ſupported them had been laid ſufficiently deep to prevent the ſinking that would have been produced by the running off of the ſands which might have eſcaped from under theſe foundations; an advantage which the new mode of conſtruction was far from having. Upon this bad plan a thouſand toiſes of revêtement were raiſed.

No ſooner were the miniſtry in Europe informed of the defects of theſe works, than they ſent M. Deſclaiſons, a man diſtinguiſhed in the corps of engineers by his probity and talents. This

ſkilful engineer did not adopt either the fortifications *ſur puits*; or thoſe on forelands with *revêtemens* ſloping to two-fifths of their height. He began his work in February 1770, and completed in ſeven months an extent of ſix hundred and thirty-ſix toiſes; with ten feet of net maſonry above the foundation, which was laid at the loweſt point where it was poſſible to drain off the waters. His maſonry was ſolid, and his *revêtement* conſtructed according to the rules of the greateſt maſters.

The ſpirit of intrigue, which then carried every thing at Verſailles, occaſioned M. Deſclaiſons to be recalled, and he was ſucceeded by the ſame engineer whoſe works had ſo juſtly been cenſured. This man had recourſe to his former method, although every thing he had done before was already cracked; and he executed a new extent of fortification of eight hundred toiſes, which fell to pieces in the ſame manner as the former.

The voice of reaſon, which will ſometimes make itſelf be hear'd, prevailed upon the government to apply again to M. Deſclaiſons in 1775. He was deſired to undertake the completion of the works of Pondicherry, but at the ſame time to keep the fortifications that were already erected. This mode of proceeding was too repugnant to ſound principles for him to accede to it; and he judged it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to ſacrifice every thing that had been executed contrary to the rules of the art. He demonſtrated, that the works erected upon forelands were improper both

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for defence and duration; that the inclined *revêtemens* could not fail of breaking either horizontally or vertically; that a wall placed before the forelands muſt neceſſarily make them decay, and might occaſion the ſinking and deſtruction of the *revêtemens* themſelves. His opinion was, that it was proper to defend Pondicherry according to the methods practiſed in Europe; and that an incloſure with ſimple baſtions and a few out-works was ſufficient. The expences of this fortification were to amount to five millions of livres *. This reaſoning, though not controverted, was not acceded to; and the place remained defenceleſs, or in a ſtate of weakneſs and ruin, which is every day increaſing.

THE French factories in India, in their preſent ſtate, do not produce more than 200,000 livres †, while they coſt more than 2,000,000 of livres ‡ every year. This is a very conſiderable ſacrifice, and yet it is leſs than what is required for the preſervation of the iſles of France and Bourbon, which are not in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as they were expected to have been.

Preſent ſtate of the iſle of Bourbon.

BOURBON is ſixty miles in length, and forty-five in breadth; but nature has rendered uſeleſs the greateſt part of this extenſive ſpace. Three inacceſſible peaks, which are ſixteen hundred toiſes high; a dreadful volcano, the environs of which are always burnt up; numberleſs ravines, of ſo ſteep a deſcent that it is impoſſible to clear the ſoil; mountains, the ſummit of which is con-

* 208,333l. 6s. 8d. † 8,333l. 6s. 8d. ‡ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

ſtantly

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ſtantly arid; coaſts in general covered with ſtones: theſe are ſo many natural and unſurmountable obſtacles to a cultivation of any extent. Moſt of the lands even, which can be cultivated, are ſloping; and it is not uncommon to ſee the beſt founded expectations fruſtrated by torrents.

A BEAUTIFUL ſky, a pure air, a delicious climate, and wholeſome waters, have however collected in the iſland a population of ſix thouſand three hundred and forty white men, well made, ſtrong, courageous, and diſtributed in nine pariſhes, of which that of St. Dennis is the principal. Theſe men, a few years ago, were celebrated for a ſpirit of candour, equity, and moderation worthy of the primitive ages. The war of 1756 produced ſome little alteration in their character, without affecting materially their morals.

THESE virtues were the more remarkable, as they ſprang up and were maintained in the midſt of ſix-and-twenty thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-five ſlaves, according to the calculation made in 1776.

AT the ſame period, the colony reckoned ſeven-and-fifty thouſand, eight hundred and fifty-eight animals, not one of which was devoted to agriculture. Excepting two thouſand eight hundred and ninety-one horſes, which were employed for different purpoſes, the reſt were entirely deſtined for ſubſiſtence.

IN this year the produce of the harveſt roſe to five millions four hundred and forty-one thouſand twenty-five quintals of corn; to three millions one hundred and ninety-one thouſand four hundred

dred and forty tons of rice; to twenty-two millions four hundred and ſixty-one thouſand eight hundred tons of mays; and to two millions five hundred and fifteen thouſand one hundred and ninety tons of pulſe. Moſt of theſe productions were conſumed in Bourbon itſelf; the reſt ſupplied ſubſiſtence to the iſle of France.

THE colony cultivated for the mother-country eight millions four hundred and ninety-three thouſand coffee-plants, the fruit of which is of the beſt kind next to that of Arabia. Each of theſe trees yielded originally near two pounds of coffee. This produce is diminiſhed by three-fourths, ſince the cultivation has been carried on in an open country; ſince the planters have been under a neceſſity of growing their trees in an exhauſted ſoil, and ſince the inſects have attacked them.

THE court of Verſailles will never attend to the improvement of a colony, where ſteep ſhores, and a ſea violently agitated, render the navigation always dangerous, and often impracticable. It were rather to be wiſhed that it might be abandoned, becauſe it is a powerful attraction to ſome men, and to ſome exertions, which ſhould rather be all concentrated in the iſle of France, which is only five-and-thirty leagues diſtant from it.

Preſent ſtate of the iſle of France. Importance of this ſettlement. Account of what has already been done,

ACCORDING to the obſervations of the Abbé de la Caille, this other poſſeſſion meaſures thirty-one thouſand eight hundred and ninety toiſes in it's greateſt diameter; twenty-two thouſand one hundred and twenty-four in it's greateſt breadth; and four hundred and thirty-two thouſand ſix hundred

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and of what ſtill remains to be done for it.

dred and eighty acres of ſuperficies. Numbers of mountains are to be ſeen in it; not one of which is more than four hundred and twenty-four toiſes high. Although the ſoil be in all parts covered with ſtones of a greater or leſs ſize ſo that it cannot be tilled with the plough, but muſt be worked with the ſpade, it is nevertheleſs fit for many things. Though more ſuperficial and leſs fertile than that of Bourbon, it is more generally ſuſceptible of cultivation.

THIS iſland for a long time engaged the ſpeculation, rather than the induſtry of it's poſſeſſors; they waſted their time in conjectures concerning the uſe it might be put to.

SOME were inclined to make a mart of it, where all India goods ſhould center. They were to be brought thither on India bottoms, and then ſhipped on board French veſſels, which were never to go any further. A double advantage evidently aroſe from this ſcheme; firſt, the expences were leſſened, as both the pay and the maintenance of India ſailors is very trifling; and, ſecondly, the ſhips crews were better preſerved, for theſe were ſometimes deſtroyed by the length of the voyage alone, and ſtill more frequently by the climate, eſpecially in Arabia and at Bengal. This plan met with no ſupport. It was feared that the Company would fall into contempt, unleſs they diſplayed, in theſe diſtant latitudes, a naval force ſufficient to inſure reſpect.

OTHERS, agreeably to a new ſyſtem which engaged their attention, were of opinion that the inhabitants of the Iſle of France ſhould be allowed

lowed to trade to India, which they had never yet been ſuffered to do. The ſupporters of this ſyſtem maintained, that the propoſed freedom would prove an abundant ſource of wealth to the colony, and conſequently to the mother-country. But the iſland was then in want of both veſſels and ſpecie; it had no articles for exportation, nor means of conſumption. For all theſe reaſons, the experiment proved unſucceſsful, and it was reſolved that the iſland ſhould be entirely confined to agriculture.

THIS new regulation gave riſe to freſh miſtakes. Men were ſent from the mother-country to the colony, who neither underſtood huſbandry, nor were accuſtomed to labour. The lands were diſtributed at a venture, and without diſtinguiſhing what was to be cleared from what did not want it. Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their induſtry, but to the intereſt they could make with the government. The Company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent. upon thoſe that were ſent in from India, required that the produce of the country ſhould be delivered into their warehouſes at a very low price. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the company, who had kept all the power in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their ſubjects, or rather with their ſlaves.

UNDER ſuch an adminiſtration, no improvements could be expected. Diſcouragement threw moſt of the coloniſts into a ſtate of inaction.

Thoſe

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Thoſe who had ſome ſhare of induſtry remaining, were either in want of the means that lead to proſperity, or were not ſupported by that ſtrength of mind which enables men to ſurmount the difficulties always attending upon new ſettlements. Thoſe who had an opportunity of ſeeing and obſerving the agriculture of the Iſle of France, found it little better than what they had ſeen among the ſavages.

In 1764, the government took the colony under it's own immediate controul. From that period, to 1776, a population has been ſucceſſively formed there of ſix thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſix white men, including two thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five ſoldiers; of eleven hundred and ninety-nine free negroes; and of twenty-five thouſand one hundred and fifty-four ſlaves. The cattle on the iſland has alſo been increaſed to twenty-five thouſand three hundred and ſixty-ſeven.

The coffee-tree has employed a conſiderable number of planters; but the hurricanes that have ſucceeded each other with extreme rapidity, have prevented any advantage being derived from theſe plantations. The ſoil itſelf, which is in general ferruginous and of little depth, ſeems improper for this culture. It might therefore with reaſon be doubted whether it would ſucceed here, if even the government had not endeavoured to check it, by the duties that have been laid on the coffee at it's going out of the iſland, and at it's entrance in France.

THREE ſugar-plantations have been eſtabliſhed, and theſe are ſufficient for the wants of the colony.

No more than forty thouſand weight of cotton has yet been gathered. This laſt commodity is of a good kind, and every thing promiſes an increaſe of it.

THE camphor, the aloes, the cocoa-tree, the agallochum, the ſago, the cardamom, the cinnamon-tree, and many other vegetables proper to Aſia, which have been naturalized in the iſland, will probably always remain objects of mere curioſity.

SOME iron mines had been diſcovered a long time; but it has been found neceſſary to abandon theſe, becauſe they could not ſupport the competition of thoſe in Europe.

IT is well know'n, that for theſe two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themſelves by the ſale of cloves and nutmegs. To ſecure to themſelves the excluſive trade of theſe articles, they have deſtroyed or enſlaved the nation that was in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſpices; and, leſt the price of them ſhould fall, even in their own hands, they have rooted up moſt of the trees, and have frequently burnt the fruit of thoſe they had preſerved.

THIS barbarous avidity, which has ſo often excited the indignation of other nations, ſo ſtrongly exaſperated Mr. Poivre (who had travelled all over Aſia as a naturaliſt and a philoſopher), that he availed himſelf of the authority he was intruſted with in the Iſle of France, and ſent men into the leaſt frequented parts of the Moluccas, to

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ſearch for what avarice had for ſo long a time withholden from the reſt of the world. The labours of thoſe intrepid and ſagacious navigators, in whom he had confided, were crowned with ſucceſs.

On the 27th of June 1770, they brought to the Iſle of France 450 nutmeg and 70 clove-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing, or ready to grow; and a cheſt of cloves, ſeveral of which were ſprung up. Two years after this, another importation was made, much more conſiderable than the former.

Some of theſe precious plants were carried to the iſlands of Seychelles, of Bourbon, and of Cayenne; but the greater part of them remained in the iſle of France. All thoſe which were diſtributed among private perſons periſhed. The care of the moſt ſkilful botaniſts, the moſt conſtant attention, and the moſt conſiderable expences, could not preſerve, even in the king's garden, more than fifty-eight nutmeg, and thirty-eight clove-trees. In the month of October 1775, two of theſe laſt bore flowers, which were changed into fruit the next year. That which we have ſeen is ſmall, dry and meager. If they are not improved by a long naturalization, the Dutch will only have had a falſe alarm, and they will remain immutably the maſters of the ſpice trade.

Sound policy has given another deſtination to the iſle of France. The quantity of corn there muſt be increaſed; and the crops of rice extended by a more judicious diſtribution of the waters: it is equally important to attend to the multiply-

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ing of the cattle, and to the improvement of the breed.

THESE objects of firſt neceſſity were for a long time inconſiderable, although it was an eaſy matter to form paſturages, and although the ſoil yielded twenty for one. Only a few years ago it was ſuggeſted to the government, to buy up, at a good price, all the grain which the planters might have to ſell; and at this period the harveſts were increaſed. If this plan be uninterruptedly followed, the colony will ſoon furniſh proviſions for it's inhabitants, for the navigators that may frequent it's roads, and for the armies and fleets which circumſtances will ſooner or later bring there. Then this iſland will be what it ſhould, the bulwark of all the ſettlements which France poſſeſſes, or may one day acquire in the Indies; the center of all military operations, offenſive or defenſive, which her intereſt will oblige her to undertake, or to ſuſtain, in theſe diſtant regions.

IT is ſituated in the African ſeas, juſt at the entrance of the Indian ocean. Though raiſed as high as arid or burning coaſts, it is temperate and wholeſome. As it lies a little out of the common track, it's expeditions can be carried on with greater ſecrecy. Thoſe who wiſh it was nearer to our continent, do not conſider that, if it were ſo, it would be impoſſible to paſs in a ſhort time from it's road to the gulphs in the moſt diſtant of theſe regions, which is an ineſtimable advantage to a nation that has no ſea-port in India.

GREAT BRITAIN ſees, with a jealous eye, her rivals poſſeſſed of a ſettlement where the ruin of

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her property in Aſia may be prepared. At the breaking-out of a war, her utmoſt efforts will certainly be exerted againſt a colony that threatens her richeſt treaſures. What a misfortune for France, ſhould ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be deprived of it!

Yet what have we not to fear, when we ſee that to this day no care has been taken for the defence of this iſland; that the means for this purpoſe have always been wanting, or miſapplied; that the court of Verſailles, from year to year, has waited for the diſpatches of the directors to come to a determination on this point, juſt as one would wait for the return of a courier from the frontiers; and that even at the time we are writing, there is ſtill perhaps a diſpute, reſpecting the kind of protection which it is moſt expedient to adopt for a ſettlement of this importance.

It is the general opinion of ſeamen, that the ſecurity of the Iſle of France muſt depend entirely on the naval forces: but they acknowlege, that theſe forces cannot fulfil this intention, till they have been ſheltered from thoſe hurricanes ſo frequent and ſo terrible, which prevail in theſe latitudes from the month of December to that of April. A great number of merchantmen have indeed been loſt, and whole ſquadrons have received ſo much injury, even in Port Louis, the only one to which ſeamen at preſent reſort, that too much labour cannot be beſtowed in guarding againſt theſe dreadful events. For a long time, the government paid little attention to this important object. It has at length determined to

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dig a large harbour in this road, in the comfortable hope that ſhips of all dimenſions may one day find a ſafe aſylum here.

This buſineſs cannot be puſhed on with too much expedition; but ſuppoſing it executed with every poſſible ſucceſs, the maritime forces would ſtill be inſufficient for the defence of the colony. The ſtate will never ſubject itſelf to the expence of maintaining conſtantly a ſtationary ſquadron in theſe latitudes; and it is poſſible that the iſland may be attacked in the abſence of the fleet, which may alſo be deſtroyed by ſickneſs or by a ſtorm. Let it be a ſtrong or a weak one, it ſtill runs the riſque of being beaten; and even if it were victorious, an opportunity may have been ſeized of landing troops during the action. Theſe troops would immediately march on to the port, and would make themſelves maſters of it, as well as of the victorious ſhips, which might have taken ſhelter there in order to refit. By this manœuvre, which is a very ſimple one, a valuable ſettlement would fall, without ſtriking a blow, into the hands of an enterprizing and ſkilful enemy. Theſe apprehenſions, which are well founded, argue the neceſſity of fortifications.

Some engineers have imagined, that batteries judiciouſly diſpoſed along the coaſt, would be ſufficient to prevent the beſiegers from landing. But ſince it has been aſcertained that the iſland is acceſſible to boats in the greateſt part of it's circumference, that even in ſeveral places, a deſcent could be effected by force under the protection of the men of war, this plan has been relinquiſhed. It

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has been underſtood, that there would be an infinite number of poſts to fortify; that the expences would be endleſs; that too many troops would be wanted; and that the diſtribution of them would leave every point expoſed to the conſequence of a landing executed ſuddenly, or by ſurprize.

THE idea of a war of poſts has not been thought a more fortunate one. The Iſle of France, notwithſtanding the advantage of poſts, will never collect a ſufficient body of troops to reſiſt thoſe which the enemy may bring there. The perſons who have propoſed this idea, have laid a ſtreſs upon the aſſiſtance to be obtained from the coloniſts and the ſlaves: but they have been obliged at length to acknowlege, that this multitude, which might poſſibly be of ſome uſe behind good ramparts, could be of little or no ſervice in the open field.

THE project of building and fortifying a city in the inland parts, has for a long time had it's partiſans. Such an eſtabliſhment appeared to them proper to keep the beſiegers at a diſtance from the center of the colony, and to force them, in time, to relinquiſh any advantages they might have gained at firſt. They would not be convinced that without any movement on the part of an enemy, who was become maſter of the ports, and of the coaſts, the garriſon, deprived of every external communication, would ſoon be reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion, or of periſhing with famine. And even if the enemy were to do nothing more than fill up the roads, and deſtroy the arſenals, magazines, and all the public edifices, would not their principal object be

be fulfilled? Of what concern would it be then to them, that there ſhould be a fortreſs and a garriſon in the midſt of an iſland, incapable of giving them any uneaſineſs, or of exciting their jealouſy in future?

After ſo many variations and ſuch uncertainties of opinion, the government has begun to be convinced, that the only method of defending the colony is to provide for the ſecurity of it's two ports; to eſtabliſh a communication that ſhall give riſe to internal connections between them; that ſhall facilitate a ready diſtribution of the forces according to the deſigns of the enemy, and that ſhall make the ſuccours which might arrive from without by one or other of it's roads, common to both parties.

Port-Bourbon, where the Dutch had formed their ſettlement, and Port-Louis, the only one to which the French reſort, had not hitherto appeared capable of being fortified: the firſt, on account of it's vaſt extent, the latter, on account of the irregular heights which ſurround it. But the Chevalier d'Arçon has propoſed a plan which has removed all theſe difficulties, and which, after the fulleſt diſcuſſion, has obtained the approbation of thoſe who are the beſt acquainted with this important art. The expences attending the execution of this great project have been rigidly calculated, and it is affirmed, that they will not be conſiderable.

But what number of troops will be wanted to defend theſe fortifications? The ſkilful engineer uſually requires but few. He is well aware, that

if many were to be ſent, they would ſoon grow effeminate by the heat of the climate, become corrupt by the deſire and expectation of gain, ruined by debauchery, and enervated by idleneſs. Accordingly, he has reduced them in time of peace to two thouſand men, who will be eaſily reſtrained, exerciſed, and diſciplined. This number appears to him ſufficient to reſiſt any ſudden or unexpected attack that might fall on the colony. If it were threatened with extraordinary danger from great preparations, a miniſter, attentive to the ſtorms that are gathering, would have time enough to ſend over the forces neceſſary to defend it, or to act in Indoſtan according to circumſtances.

Some perſons will diſapprove of theſe views. The Iſle of France coſts the ſtate annually eight millions of livres *. This expence, which will ſcarce admit of any reduction, excites the indignation of many good citizens. Their wiſh is that this ſettlement ſhould be abandoned as well as Bourbon, which is only a burdenſome appendage to it.

This indeed would be the ſcheme moſt expedient to be adopted, if we conſidered only the languiſhing trade now carried on by the French in India. But political ſpeculations reach beyond this object. It is foreſeen, that if this reſolution were adhered to, the Engliſh would drive all foreign nations from the Aſiatic ſeas; that they would appropriate to themſelves all the riches of theſe extenſive regions; and that ſo many powerful re-

* 333,333l. 6s. 8d.

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ſources united in their hands would give them a dangerous influence in Europe. Theſe conſiderations ought ſtill more fully to convince the court of Verſailles of the neceſſity of fortifying the Iſle of France; at the ſame time taking the moſt effectual precautions not to be impoſed upon by the agents choſen to carry this point into execution.

However, there is ſo neceſſary a connection between the Iſle of France and Pondicherry, that thoſe two poſſeſſions are entirely dependent on each other; for, without the Iſle of France, there would be no protection for the ſettlements in India; and, without Pondicherry, the Iſle of France would be expoſed to the invaſion of the Engliſh from Aſia as well as from Europe.

The Iſle of France and Pondicherry, when conſidered as having a neceſſary and mutual connection, will be a ſecurity to one another. Pondicherry will protect the Iſle of France, as being the rival of Madraſs, which the Engliſh muſt always cover with their land and ſea forces; and, on the other hand, the Iſle of France will always be ready to ſuccour Pondicherry, or to act offenſively, as circumſtances ſhall require.

From theſe principles it appears how requiſite it is, after having fortified the Iſle of France, to put Pondicherry immediately in a ſtate of defence. This place will become the neceſſary ſtaple of all the trade carried on with India, as well as a depoſit of all the troops and proviſions that will be ſent there. It will alſo ſerve to protect a ſmall force, when offenſive meaſures are purſued.

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WHEN the Iſle of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper poſture of defence, the court of Verſailles will no longer ſcruple to afford the merchants that protection which the ſovereign owes to his ſubjects, throughout the whole of his dominions. The Britiſh miniſtry, on their parts, will be more fully convinced than they have hitherto appeared to be, of the neceſſity of reſtraining the Engliſh traders within the bounds of moderation and juſtice. But will the Engliſh Company be made to give up the abuſe of power, and to renounce thoſe looſe principles which their aſtoniſhing ſucceſs has inſpired them with? This cannot be expected. Their reſiſtance would produce acrimony: the intereſts of the two nations would claſh, and war would enſue.

FAR be it from us to ſuggeſt any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of diſcord. Rather let the voice of reaſon and philoſophy be hear'd by the rulers of the world. May all ſovereigns, after ſo many ages of error, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over waſted regions, and people groaning under the weight of oppreſſion! May all men, become brethren, accuſtom themſelves to conſider the univerſe as one family under the eye of one common Father! But theſe wiſhes, which are thoſe of every enlightened and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious miniſters, who hold the reins of empire. Their buſy and reſtleſs diſpoſition will ſtill ſhed torrents of blood.

SOME pitiful commercial intereſt will again arm the French and the Engliſh. Though Great Britain,

Britain, in moſt of her wars, has aimed chiefly at deſtroying the induſtry of her neighbours; and though the ſuperiority of her naval forces may ſtill keep up the hope, ſo often diſappointed, of effecting this, yet we may ſafely foretell that ſhe would chuſe to remove the ſcene of action from the ſeas of Aſia, where ſhe would have ſo little to gain, and ſo much to loſe. That power is not ignorant of the ſecret wiſhes formed on all ſides for the overthrow of an edifice, which eclipſes all the reſt. The ſubah of Bengal is ſecretly exaſperated that he has not even the appearance of authority left. The ſubah of the Decan is inconſolable to ſee his commerce under the controul of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to diſpel the jealouſies of his tyrants. The Marattas are exaſperated to find perpetual obſtacles to their depredations. All the powers of theſe countries are either actually enſlaved, or think themſelves on the eve of being ſo. England, we may preſume, would not wiſh to ſee the French at the head of ſuch a confederacy. On the contrary, we may venture to foretell, that a ſtrict neutrality for India would be the wiſeſt plan they could purſue, and the one they would moſt readily adopt.

But would this ſyſtem be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are aware, that warlike preparations made at the Iſle of France might be employed with advantage; that the conqueſts of the Engliſh are too extenſive not to be open to attacks; and that, ſince their experienced officers are returned home, the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Indoſtan are only defended by young men,

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men, more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exercises. It is therefore to be presumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly seize an opportunity of repairing their former disasters. At the sight of their standards, all these oppressed sovereigns would take the field; and the rulers of India, surrounded with enemies, and attacked at once on the north and on the south, by sea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

Principles which the French ought to pursue in India, if they should ever recover the consideration and power they enjoyed there.

THEN the French, considered as the deliverers of Indostan, would emerge from that state of humiliation into which their own misconduct hath plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Asia, provided the revolution brought about by them should prove a lesson of moderation. Their trade would be extensive and flourishing, so long as they knew how to be just. But this prosperity would end in some fatal catastrophe, should an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage, and oppress. They would then, in their turn, share the same fate as their extravagant and cruel rivals whom they had reduced.

To conquer, or to plunder with violence, is the same thing. The plunderer and the violent man are always objects of detestation.

PERHAPS it may be true, that great riches are not to be rapidly acquired without great injustice; but it is not less true, that an unjust man is universally hated; and it is a matter of uncertainty, whether the wealth he hath gained will indemnify him for the odium he hath incurred.

THERE

THERE is not any one nation that is not jealous of the proſperity of another. Why muſt this jealouſy be perpetuated, notwithſtanding the experience of it's fatal conſequences?

THERE is but one lawful mode of obtaining a ſuperiority over our competitors: this is, mildneſs in adminiſtration; faithful obſervance of engagements; the having goods of a better quality, and the being ſatisfied with a moderate profit. Why ſhould we have recourſe to other meaſures, which become more hurtful in proceſs of time than they are uſeful at the moment?

LET the merchant be humane and juſt; and if he ſhould enjoy poſſeſſions, let them not be uſurped. Uſurpation is inconſiſtent with quiet enjoyment.

To act with policy, or to cheat with dexterity, is the ſame thing; and the only reſult of it is miſtruſt, which ariſes as ſoon as the duplicity is diſcovered, and is never removed.

IF it be a matter of importance to a citizen, to eſtabliſh a character in ſociety, it is of much higher conſequence to a nation to acquire one among other nations, in the midſt of which it's intention is to ſettle and proſper.

A WISE people will never ſuffer that any incroachment ſhould be made upon liberty or property. They will reſpect the conjugal tie; they will conform to the cuſtoms of the country; and wait for a change of manners from time. If they do not bend the knee before the Gods of the country, they will at leaſt carefully abſtain from breaking their altars; let them rather fall by their antiquity. Theſe people will thus become naturalized.

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WHAT leſſon ſhall we have learnt from the maſſacre of ſo many Portugueſe, Dutch, Engliſh, and French, unleſs it have taught to keep upon good terms with the natives? If we act with them as our predeceſſors have done, we ſhall certainly be maſſacred, as they have been.

LET us, therefore, no longer be impoſtors on our firſt appearance; ſervile, when we are received; inſolent, when we think ourſelves ſtrong; and cruel, when we are become all-powerful.

To inſure the affection of the inhabitants of any diſtrict, is the only circumſtance that can render your ſettlements firm. Act in ſuch a manner that theſe inhabitants ſhall defend you when you are attacked. If they do not defend, they will betray you.

NATIONS that are ſubdued, long for a deliverer; nations that are oppreſſed, for an avenger; and they will ſoon find one.

WILL ye be always extravagant enough to prefer ſlaves to men that are free; diſcontented to affectionate ſubjects; enemies to friends; foes to brethren?

If ye ſhould happen to take a part in the diſputes between two princes, be not lightly influenced by the call of intereſt againſt the claims of juſtice. What compenſation can ye have for loſing the title of juſt? Be rather mediators than auxiliaries. The part of a mediator is always reſpected; that of an auxiliary always hazardous. Will ye ſtill continue to maſſacre, impriſon, and plunder thoſe who have put themſelves under your protection? Proud Europeans, ye have not always conquered by the force of arms. Will ye not at length

length be aſhamed of having ſo frequently degraded yourſelves to act the part of corrupters of the brave commanders of your enemies?

What do thoſe forts announce with which you have lined all the coaſts; unleſs it be your terror and the odium of thoſe that ſurround you? Ye will no longer be under apprehenſions, when ye are no longer deteſted. Ye will no longer be deteſted when ye are benevolent. The ſavage, as well as the civilized man, aſpires after happineſs.

The advantages of population, and the means of increaſing it, are the ſame in both hemiſpheres.

Upon whatever ſpot ye may ſettle, if ye reſpect yourſelves, and if ye act as the founders of cities, ye will ſoon acquire a power not to be ſubverted. Encourage, therefore, every kind of increaſe in every rank and profeſſion, except that of prieſthood. Let there be no reigning religion. Let every man praiſe God in the manner moſt agreeable to him. Let morality be eſtabliſhed on the globe: it is the buſineſs of toleration.

The ſhip that ſhould tranſport into your colonies healthy and vigorous young men, with induſtrious and prudent young women, would be the beſt laden of all your veſſels. It would prove the ſource of eternal peace between you and the natives.

Do not multiply productions alone, but multiply farmers, conſumers, and with them every ſpecies of induſtry, every branch of commerce. Much will ſtill remain to be done, while you do not meet with your coloniſts on the ſeas; while they are not as frequently ſeen upon your ſhores, as your traders are upon their's.

PUNISH the crimes of your own people ſtill more ſeverely than thoſe of the natives. Thus it is that you will inſpire the latter with reſpect for the authority of the laws.

LET every agent, not only convicted, but even ſuſpected of the ſlighteſt extortion, be inſtantly recalled. When venality is proved, puniſh it upon the ſpot, that there may be no temptation on one part to offer, what it would be infamous on the other to receive.

EVERY thing is loſt, while your agents are only protected perſons, or men of bad fame; the former, who are intent only upon repairing their fortunes, by plundering at a diſtance; the latter, who come to hide their ignominy in your counting-houſes and factories. There is no integrity ſo confirmed, as to be expoſed to croſs the line without riſk of being tainted.

IF ye are juſt and humane, people will remain with you; they will do more; they will even quit diſtant countries to come and reſide among you.

APPOINT ſome days of reſt; and inſtitute ſome feſtivals, but let them be merely of a civil nature. You will be ever bleſt indeed, if the moſt chearful of theſe feſtivals ſhall be celebrated in commemoration of your firſt arrival in the country.

BE faithful to the treaties you have concluded. Let your ally find an advantage in them, which is the only legitimate guarantee of their duration. If I be injured, either by my own ignorance, or by your cunning, vain is the oath I have taken; heaven and earth will releaſe me from it.

As long as ye ſhall ſeparate the good of the nation that has received you, from your own advantage,

vantage, ye will be oppreſſors and tyrants; and it is by the title of benefactors alone that we can conciliate affection.

If the man who dwells near you ſhould bury his gold, you may be aſſured that he curſes you.

To what purpoſe is it that ye oppoſe a revolution, which, though diſtant, will certainly be accompliſhed, notwithſtanding all your efforts to prevent it? The world that you have invaded muſt free itſelf from that which you inhabit. Then the ſeas will only ſeparate friends and brothers. What great calamity do ye ſee in this, ye unjuſt, cruel and inflexible tyrants?

The edifice of wiſdom is not eternal: but that of folly is continually tottering, and ſoon falls to pieces. Wiſdom imprints it's laſting characters upon the rocks; Folly traces her's on the ſand. Settlements have been formed and ſubverted; ruins have been heaped on ruins; countries that were well peopled have become deſert; ports that were full of buildings have been abandoned; vaſt tracts that had been ill cemented with blood have ſeparated, and have brought to view the bones of murderers and of tyrants confounded with each other. It ſeems as if from one region to another proſperity had been purſued by an evil genius which ſpeaks our ſeveral languages, and which diffuſes the ſame calamities in all parts.

Let our firſt victims no longer feel themſelves avenged, and rejoice at ſight of the rage we are continually exerting againſt each other. May theſe ideas, throw'n out without art, and as they preſented themſelves to my mind, make a deep

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and lasting impression! May it please Heaven, that henceforth I should have nothing but your moderation and wisdom to celebrate: for it is agreeable to me to praise, and painful to censure. Let us now examine what has been the conduct of the northern powers, in endeavouring to share in the commerce of Asia: for the spirit of luxury, penetrating also into these regions of iron and ice, has made the inhabitants covet the riches and the enjoyments of other nations.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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